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BY THE

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OF PAPHROLOGISTS

Don de :
Mme Danielle BONNEAU
Oct. 1992

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Not all of those who read papers to the Congress have felt able to accept the self-denying ordinance of space required by the Committee. With the full agreement of the Committee these scholars have sought the hospitality of a number of learned journals for their papers. Where the place of publication is known it is stated in the list on pages ix - xix; if no information is given, none was available to the Editors. Some scholars have elected to produce both a short and a longer form of their papers.

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See also under "Saqqara Papyri"
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- Miss E.J.E.Pirie, City Museum, Leeds, England
- Prof.C.Préaux, 109 rue de l'Abbaye, Bruxelles, Belgium
(Representative of the Académie Royale de Belgique)
"Grandeur et limites de la science alexandrine"
(Publication in: "Le monde grec hellénistique", Collection
Clio (Paris, probably 1976). Abridged version in the Bull.
de la Classe des Lettres de l'Acad. Royale de Belgique)
- Dott.P.Pruneti, Istituto Vitelli, Firenze, Italy

- Dr.M.G.Raschke, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
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- Dr.J.R.Rea, Papyrology Rooms, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England;
and Mrs Rea
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- C.H.Roberts Esq., St.John's College, Oxford, England
(Representative of the British Academy)
- Prof.J.M.Robinson, Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, Calif.,
U.S.A.; and Mrs Robinson
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of Pahor Labib, edited by Martin Krause; = Nag Hammadi
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- Prof.H.A.Rupprecht, Universität Marburg, W.Germany
- Dr.R.P.Salomons, Evertsenlaan 12, Velp, Holland
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Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli)
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- G.Schiffmacher: see under Irigoin
- Signorina M.Scopello, Via S.Ottavio 20, Torino, Italy
- Dr.D.Sedley, Balliol College, Oxford, England
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(Representative of the University of Amsterdam)
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- Signorina L.Simonini, Via Rossetti 9, Milano, Italy
- T.C.Skeat Esq., 63 Ashbourne Road, Ealing, London, England
- A.H.K.Slater Esq., Department of Trade and Industry, London,
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Signora Talamanca Foti
- Prof.J.A.C.Thomas, University College, London, England
- Dr.J.D.Thomas, University of Durham, England
(Representative of the University of Durham)
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- Dr.K.Treu, Wörtherstr.38, Berlin, Germany (DDR)
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Holland (new address); and Mrs Van den Brink Smit
- Prof.C.Vandersleyen, 19 rue Fond Thirion, Waterloo, Belgium;
and Mme Vandersleyen Gaillet
(Representative of the Université Catholique de Louvain)
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- Dr.C.Wehrli, 34 St.-Jean, CH-1203 Geneva, Switzerland
- Dr.M.Weinstein, Union Theological Seminary, New York, U.S.A.
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- Prof.W.H.Willis, Duke University, Durham, N.C., U.S.A.; and
Mrs Willis and Miss B.Willis
"Fourth-century documents from Panopolis at Duke
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- Prof.H.J.Wolff, 35 Schulhausstr., Kirchzarten, Germany; and
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- Dr.N.J.Woodall, 83 West Avenue, Fairport, N.Y., U.S.A.
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version may also appear in JJP)
- Dr.K.A.Worp, Kieftendellaan 20, Santpoort-Nord, Holland
- R.P.Wright Esq., University of Durham, England
"Latin cursive documents from Vindolanda, south of
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- Prof.H.C.Youtie, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.,
U.S.A.; and Mrs Youtie
(Joint representative of the University of Michigan)
"Ἀπάτορες: Law versus Custom in Roman Egypt"
(Publication in Festschrift Préaux)
- Dr.N.Zagagi, 369 Banbury Road, Oxford, England
- Prof.G.Zalateo, 22 via Carlo Combi, Trieste, Italy; and
Signora Zalateo
- Sig.G.Zecchini, Università Cattolica, Milano, Italy
- Prof.H.Zilliacus, 9B Parkgatan, Helsingfors, Finland

NEW DATA FROM THE ZENON PAPYRI⁺
Plates I-VI

It is a well-known fact that the famous archive of the Zenon papyri is a mine of information that is continually contributing a lot towards our knowledge of the economic system, the bureaucratic and sociological status of Ptolemaic Egypt during the best part of the IIIrd century BC. For more than the last fifty years this archive has been shedding variant light upon certain aspects of the utmost importance pertaining to Greco-Egyptian life under Ptolemaic rule.

However new information continues to crop up. Just in time for this congress a new volume of Zenon papyri kept in the British Museum appeared (P.Lond.VII). Here I may bring to your attention that some fragments belonging to the Zenon archive are deposited in Cairo at the disposal of the Egyptian Papyrological Society and await their publication. Some do convey casual references to places, names of persons, minor events, dealings and various activities or recommendations; but they are in a fragmentary state. I shall present some examples in order to show you the kind of scraps we are dealing with. There is still the hope that fragments can be combined and put together, and since this archive is dispersed over the whole world, one should publish even small fragments in order to enable scholars to put fragments together which are kept at different places. For example, it is most likely that the fragment I shall present as nr.2 is part of the same letter as P.Columbia 48 kept at New York.

In the Cairo fragments of our society we are sometimes fortunate to come across names of eminent persons and officials known to us. To quote some instances, we come across Telestes, Metrodoros, Promethion the banker of Mendes, Python the banker of Crocodopolis, Epharmostos the younger brother of Zenon occurring together with Styra the paidagogos, further Agenor the strategos, Hellenocrates, Theophilos the sitologos, Semphtheus the pig breeder, Parmenion, Euphranor who exchanged letters with Zenon, Theodoros who submitted a hypomnema to Zenon and expressed his urgent need of money, further Pasis the dekatarchos and stone-cutter, and so on. Some of the fragments belong to letters of recommendation and display the normal phraseology of such letters; others are fragments of enteuxeis with references to the court of the chrematistae.

Such are the types of instances that need to be published in the near future under our auspices. It is high time to deal with these tit-bits, irrespective of the fact that they are so fragmentary. It suffices to say that we are more than compensated by the fresh data furnished by them. They do amplify or help in the restoration of hazy pictures or topics pertaining to these busybody Greeks going to and from Philadelphia to the different parts of the Delta and Alexandria on some public or private occasions.

But let us turn to the five examples I have chosen.

⁺ In the absence of Prof. Zaki Aly his paper was read by Prof. L. Koenen, who reported that Prof. Zaki Aly has invited a group of scholars to study the Zenon papyri at his disposal.

Text Nr. 1

A Hypomnema to Zenon

8,2 x 8 cm

colour: dark brown

recto 2 σόμενον τὸ σιτάριον
τὸ παρὰ τῶν λα]τό-
μων. ἔτοιμον γάρ
ἔστιν.

verso 6]ει
] Ζήνωνι

This text deals with some corn-allowance in connection with a group of stone-cutters stationed most likely somewhere round Philadelphia and arranged as usual in dekatarchia (P.C.Z. 59745). One expects that through one of their dekatarchs they demand payment of their food allowance, as agreed upon. The Zenon papyri furnish us with abundant evidence concerning the recurrent delay in supplying workers with their allotted payments whether in kind or in money. The usual cry was that these payments were always in arrears. Hence it followed that they asked for supply of such requirements in due course or rather punctually (εὐτάκτως).

But τὸ σιτάριον τὸ παρὰ τῶν λα]τόμων is an awkward formulation and does not express this sense. It rather sounds as if the corn-allowance or a small amount of corn had to be provided by the stone-cutters. Perhaps they had asked Zenon to store some amount of wheat on their behalf in order to be delivered as payment to somebody they hired. In this case the writer of this letter tells Zenon that the wheat is ready to be delivered.

At the beginning συμμετρηθη[σόμενον] or συντασ[σόμενον] or a similar participle is to be expected.

Text Nr. 2

A Dated Letter Referring to an Assignment of Land among Cleruchs

Nov. 20, 253 BC 18 x 12 cm colour: lightbrown

The following fragment is the end of a letter; I take it to be the end of the letter of which the beginning was published as P.Col.Zen. 49; the lines have the same length; the date of the new fragment is the same which appears on the back of the Columbia fragment: Nov. 20, 253 BC; both fragments deal with the Assignment of land to a cleruch. But I was not able to get a photograph of P.Col.Zen. 49 in due time,

1) cf. for example P.Col.Zen. 31, 4; also PSI 423, 33

so that for the time being the identification remains a working hypothesis.

recto:

(P.Col.) 1 Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ πρὸς τῆι ἐλα-
ικῆι γενόμενος τῆι κατὰ
Μέμφιν Ζήνωνι χάρειν.

4 Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ ἀποδιδούς σοι
τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔστιν ἡμῶν
φίλος καὶ πολίτης. ἀπεσταλ-
μένος δὲ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν

8 [στρατι]ωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ γήϊδια

9 [καλῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσαις]

(P.Cairo Fuad) σπουδάσας περὶ αὐτοῦ
πρὸς τοὺς καταμετροῦντας.

12 ἔρρωσ[ω]. (ἔτους) λγ Θωϑ κζ Nov. 20, 253 BC

verso:

(P.Col.) 13 (ἔτους) λγ Θωϑ κζ. Ἀσκλη- Ζήνωνι Nov. 20, 253 BC
πιάδης περὶ Ἀρτεμι-
δώρου.

This letter is an introduction by which Asklepiades, an official formerly connected with oil stores, asks Zenon to help a soldier, the bearer of this letter, regarding the people charged with the task of measuring out allotments of land to the cleruchs; in other papyri the cleruchs are called οἱ καταμεμετρημένοι.²⁾

The assignment of land in allotments to cleruchs (ἡ καταμεμετρημένη γῆ τοῖς στρατιώταις) was a very big business in the Fayum and elsewhere. Hence a word of recommendation may have been very helpful.

Text Nr. 3

A Letter Mentioning the Festival of Isis

1 ο]ντα, περὶ δὲ
]ν ἔγραφον τὴν ἐπισ-

2) see P.C.Z. 59297, 26 f.; cf. P.Lond. VII, 2027, 2, also P.C.Z. 59245, 2

3 [τολήν πρ]ότερον ἐνέτυχεν
 4]τδμ παρ' ἡμῶν Θεόφιλον
]ην συντετριφθαι
]η αὐτῶι λόγον εἶναι
]τῆι ἰ̄ ἕνα μῆ ἔμοι
 8] ρχειον ᾱ Σεμφθεῖ
] εἰς τὰ Εἰσεία εὐτυχία ηι γ̄
] τῶν ε̄ τοκάδων

[περὶ τούτων ἕνα] ἔχωμεν φρόντισον

This letter deals with several subjects. In l. 2 the writer comes back to a letter he wrote before. In l. 8 he mentions Semphtheus who is known as a keeper of pigs.³⁾ So the τοκάδες mentioned in l. 10 are sows as normally in the Zenon archive.⁴⁾ Here we come to the main interest of this papyrus; it refers to the festival of Isis. The festival of Isis celebrated from the 17th to the 20th of Hathyr is mentioned in P.C.Z. 59154, and Artemidoros, an Agent of Apollonios at Memphis, asked Zenon to send him pigs which obviously were to be offered to Isis on this festival in the year 255 BC (P.C.Z. 59191). One needs not to be astonished that the Greeks offered pigs to the goddess according to their custom, though the Egyptians regarded pigs as unclean. Even the Egyptians offered pigs to Selene and Dionysos, that is to say to Isis and Osiris, on full moon celebrations (Herod. II, 47), by that performing the victory over Seth.

In the new papyrus the sows are needed for a festival of Isis too, and it is a fair guess that they were to be offered on the festival of the month Hathyr. In this case ηι may be read as ἥι : "on which third day", that is to say on the third day of the festival. If so, a supplement may be expected like ἥι (τρίτη) [χρεῖαν ἔχομεν] τῶν (πέντε) τοκάδων. But it seems to be difficult to connect this phrase with the phrase in front. So one may think of an other construction: Σεμφθεῖ | γράψον, ὅπως εἰς τὰ Εἰσεία εὐτυχία ἥι, (τρεῖς) | ἀποστεῖλαι] τῶν (πέντε) τοκάδων. But this is far from being satisfactory.

The last line is basically certain. In the Zenon archive ἕνα follows φρόντισον quite often.⁵⁾

The lower margin is preserved. All around this papyrus, especially on the lower margin, traces of ink are to be seen. Probably a former text has been washed away.

3) P.C.Z. 59346, 12; P. Edg. Mich. 79.

4) P.C.Z. 59274, 5; 59292, 305; 59152, 3f.; 59312, 7; 59334, 4. 17. 24; 59346, 7 59362 v. 5; 59389, 5; 59569, 142; 59819, 2 and 7; P. Lond. Zen. 2186 (selection).

5) P.C.Z. 59016, 4 f.; 59063, 6; 59192, 6; 59259, 3 f.; P. Col. Zen. 103, 10. For ἕνα ἔχωμεν cf. P. Lond. Zen. 1941, 12.

Text Nr. 4

A Report of Dekatarchoi on the Flight of Workers

9,5 x 22 cm colour: light brown

This papyrus is only the right half of an official letter written by dekatarchoi, as it seems. In addition the papyrus is badly damaged on the right edge. Upper and lower margins are preserved.

↑
 1 [τῶι δεῖνι - - - -]φι οἱ δεκάταρχοι
 ἐν Φι]λαδελφείαι τῶν παρά σοῦ
 τ]υγχάνουσι ἀνακεχωρη-
 4 [κότες - - - - -] καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις
]τ. τ.] α υπ[
 π]αραχρῆμα κατ' τῶι
] ας μετ' ἀσφαλείας
 8 ἀρ]γύριον οὐκ ἀποδιδ[ω]ν-
 [τ - - - - -]ρευσ τε [ω]νός φ[
] ηλιος
 [(ἔτους) .. Πα]λχῶνς ἰ

The dekatarchoi report to somebody that some people, probably some of their workers, left and resorted to a place of refuge (l. 3). The receiver of the letter is supposed to take some steps, obviously on behalf of these workers and in connection with securities and money not paid, and that immediately. May-be the workers are supposed to come back to their work after these actions, and probably this was intended by the writers of our letter.

The phrase μετ' ἀσφαλείας (l. 7) occurs also in P.C.Z. 59015, 5.⁶⁾ In l. 6 one may read τῶι or τοῦ[ς], and in l. 7 one may guess ἀποστεί]λας.

A lot of the workers on the dorea of Apollonios were rather dissatisfied with their situation.⁷⁾ The ἀναχώρησις was their last resource by which they forced the officials to act in their favour. In P. Lond. Zen. 2011 some goatherds took to flight, and it was suggested that the reason for that was the extortionate rent charged by Zenon.⁸⁾

6) cf. P.C.Z. 59361, 36; 59422, 16; PSI 570, 6.

7) cf. especially P. Lond. Zen. 1954 and 1955.

8) Cl. Præaux, Chron. d' Eg. 11, 1936, 558 and cf. T.C. Skeat's introduction.

A Dated Letter from Metrodoros

257 BC

6,5 x 18 cm

This papyrus was folded nine times. The writing is in a large hand, rather similar to the hands of the clerical staff of Apollonios and Zenon. Upper and left margin are preserved.

recto 1 Μητροδωρος Ζήνωνι (?) χαιρειν.]
ἀπ[
σπέρμα
4 σφραγισ--
νομιζ[
σπαρ[
ὡς διδ[
8 του [

verso 9 (ἕτους) λα Αθῶν [25 Dec - 255 223 Jan - 254

The docket on the verso is endorsed at a place which corresponds to the first line on recto. Metrodoros was an agent of Apollonios and is well-known from other papyri. Sometimes he was a rather unscrupulous man.

In the new fragment written in the year 257 Metrodoros work is connected with seed, which probably shall be brought to some place. We cannot say much more, but may hope to find the right side of this fragment.

These five fragments are enough to show what we have to expect from the fragments kept at the Papyrological Society in Cairo: puzzling riddles and a few new pieces of informations. But I think, these pieces of scattered informations are worthwhile to be cared for.

Cairo

Zaki Aly

9) PSI 340. For his activities see for example P.C.Z. 59063 (ct. 59065); 59337; 59634; P.Lond.Zen. 2042; cf. P.C.Z. 59361, 41.

(Read by J.Scherer)

NOUVELLES TECHNIQUES APPLICABLES
A L'ETUDE DU LIVRE DE PAPYRUS

Plates VII-X

Communication présentée par
Jean-Noël Barrandon, Laboratoire Pierre Süe, Saclay
Jean Irigoien, Université de Paris-Sorbonne
Gérard Schiffmacher, Laboratoire des Terres Rares, Bellevue

Sur la fabrication de la feuille et du rouleau de papyrus nous disposons seulement, comme source antique, du passage bien connu du livre XIII (chap. 74-82) de l'Histoire naturelle de Pline, dont le meilleur commentaire est celui que N. Lewis a donné dans sa thèse de Paris, L'Industrie du Papyrus dans l'Egypte Gréco-Romaine (1934), en attendant le volume annoncé par le même auteur (Papyrus in Classical Antiquity).

La moëlle de papyrus est découpée en longues bandes qui sont disposées parallèlement de façon à se joindre, et recouvertes d'une seconde couche placée perpendiculairement à la première. La feuille ainsi obtenue se présente comme un rectangle plus haut que large : au recto, les bandes sont horizontales; au verso, elles sont verticales. Assemblées par leur hauteur, les feuilles, au nombre de vingt en principe, constituent un rouleau.

Sur un certain nombre de points, la description donnée par Pline est peu claire ou même lacuneuse. Quel est, par exemple, le rôle de la colle dont il est question au chap. 82 : sert-elle seulement à l'assemblage des feuilles? ou remplace-t-elle l'eau du Nil "dont le limon fait l'effet de colle" (turbidus liquor uim glutinis praebet), mentionnée au chap. 77 pour la confection de la feuille? Les bandes découpées dans la moëlle ont-elles deux faces identiques ou non? Et si les faces sont différentes, l'ouvrier en tient-il compte dans la fabrication? Ces deux dernières questions, Pline ne se les pose pas. Son exposé laisse de côté bien des détails et manque de précision sur les tours-de-main. La technologie de la fabrication de la feuille et du rouleau de papyrus reste à écrire.

Notre communication se propose seulement de montrer comment de nouvelles techniques de laboratoire peuvent servir à déterminer quelques aspects de cette technologie. L'une est l'analyse par activation, l'autre, la microscopie électronique à balayage.

1. L'analyse par activation

Cette méthode permet de doser beaucoup d'impuretés sans effectuer d'analyse chimique, par simple spectrométrie gamma. On irradie un échantillon de papyrus d'un ou deux centimètres carrés dans les neutrons thermiques d'un réacteur nucléaire; les réactions nucléaires sur l'oxygène, le carbone et l'hydrogène, constituants majeurs du papyrus, produisent des radioisotopes dont la radioactivité disparaît très

rapidement ou n'est pas gênante, et seule subsiste la radioactivité provenant des impuretés. La spectrométrie gamma est faite en utilisant un détecteur en Germanium compensé au Lithium et un analyseur d'impulsions. Le détecteur possède une résolution telle que deux raies gamma d'énergies très voisines sont si bien séparées, que peu d'erreurs sont à craindre quant à l'attribution des raies gamma observées. Ainsi, en une seule mesure, beaucoup de radioisotopes différents peuvent être identifiés et leur radioactivité mesurée quantitativement.

Nos premiers essais ont porté sur quatre échantillons de papyrus pris au hasard dans un lot mis à notre disposition par le Prof. Jean Scherer, directeur de l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne.

Eléments (parties par millions)	Echantillons			
	1	2	3	4
Sodium (Na)	21400	21700	30100	38200
Scandium (Sc)	0,18	0,18	0,20	0,21
Chrome (Cr)	2,3	2	1,4	1,2
Fer (Fe)	820	916	885	773
Cobalt (Co)	0,74	0,61	0,71	0,71
Brome (Br)	40	19,3	33,4	32
Lanthane (La)	0,32	0,23	0,24	0,31
Baryum (Ba)	38	40	43	30
Or (Au)	0,047	0,021	0,37	0,38
Mercure (Hg)	1,8	3	3,5	2,7

Ce qui frappe d'abord dans ce tableau, c'est la concordance des résultats pour la plupart des impuretés. Seul l'or présente des dosages variés, deux faibles et deux forts, la proportion étant en gros de 1 à 8. On a là une indication qui méritera d'être étudiée.

En second lieu, il a paru intéressant de comparer le papyrus, matière végétale, à un autre produit de même origine, le papier. On a donc analysé des échantillons de papiers chinois anciens (Ve-Xe siècle) et un papier arabe du XIIIe siècle, d'une part, des papiers italiens du XVe siècle (dont la technique de fabrication est plus élaborée) d'autre part. Le papyrus est beaucoup plus près des papiers orientaux et extrême-orientaux, mais il a, par rapport à eux, une forte teneur en sodium (Na), cinq à dix fois plus, qui pourrait s'expliquer par l'usage d'eau de mer, de saumure ou de sel marin. On remarque aussi dans le papyrus une forte teneur en fer (Fe), près de un pour mille.

Ces essais, faits sur un tout petit nombre d'échantillons, ne prétendent pas donner des résultats. Ils visent seulement à montrer que

l'analyse par activation, déjà utilisée pour les papiers, peut être appliquée aux papyrus, suivant une suggestion faite par le Prof. E.G. Turner au colloque international sur Les techniques de laboratoire dans l'étude des manuscrits, qui s'est tenu à Paris en septembre 1972 (voir les Actes du colloque, p.115). Pour étendre ces recherches, il faudrait disposer d'un nombre assez grand de bribes de papyrus non écrites, mais datées (fragment d'un document) ou datables (d'après les conditions de la trouvaille), et localisées. Quelques fragments d'Herculanum et de Ravenne seraient les bienvenus.

2. La microscopie électronique à balayage

C'est un moyen récent d'étude de la morphologie des surfaces. Un mince pinceau d'électrons focalisé sur l'échantillon à examiner, en balaye la surface. A chaque point d'impact, les électrons peuvent être en partie absorbés (ou transmis si l'échantillon est très mince), en partie réfléchis (électrons rétrodiffusés), ou bien exciter l'émission d'électrons secondaires. Pour chaque point de balayage, ces différentes sortes d'électrons peuvent être recueillis et le courant produit peut être mesuré. On obtient ainsi une image de la surface examinée avec un grandissement qui va de quelques dizaines de fois à quelques dizaines de milliers de fois. Le papyrus étant non-conducteur, l'accumulation des charges électrostatiques au cours de l'examen déformerait l'image; il est donc nécessaire de métalliser la surface pour assurer l'écoulement des charges : une couche d'or de 200 angstroms (un angstrom = un dix-milliardième de mètre) est déposée par évaporation. Les fragments de papyrus ont été examinés aux grandissements 40x, 100x, 200x, 400x, 1000x et 2000x. Parmi ces grandissements, nous en avons choisi trois (40x, 200x et 1000x) qui nous ont paru les plus significatifs et auxquels appartiennent les photographies reproduites ci-après.

Les figures 1 à 7 présentent les deux faces d'un même fragment de papyrus. Les figures 8 et 9 montrent un autre fragment vu en quelque sorte de l'intérieur, sur la face interne d'une des deux couches de bandes disposées perpendiculairement.

De ces observations, résumées dans la légende des figures, il ressort que, pour les deux échantillons examinés, les deux faces sont différentes : l'une semble couverte d'un enduit, l'autre présente une structure végétale très nette; le maintien des deux couches de bandes - les verticales et les horizontales - paraît assuré par une matière étrangère, probablement une colle de pâte. Les petits blocs anguleux visibles sur une face, les perles minuscules qui apparaissent sur l'autre, correspondraient les premiers au produit servant au collage (assemblage, au moyen d'une colle, des deux couches de fibres; cf. fig.8) et à l'encollage (enduit passé sur l'une des deux faces, qui a toute chance d'être le recto; cf. fig.5, face encollée, et fig.6, face non encollée), les dernières à la condensation de la sève. L'emploi des verbes "sembler" et "paraître" montre que nous n'en sommes qu'au début d'une

recherche, mais les premiers résultats et, plus encore, la beauté des images, nous ont incités à les présenter sans plus attendre. Nous souhaiterions que ceux qui sont intéressés par ces problèmes techniques nous fassent part de leurs questions et de leurs suggestions.

N.B. Les auteurs de la communication remercient M. Jean-Claude Martin, qui a réalisé la prise des vues au microscope électronique à balayage.

Summaries:

M. Amelotti and L. Zingale Migliardi:

"Presentazione dei PUG I e annuncio dei PUG II"

Il prof. Amelotti presenta il primo volume dei Papiri dell' Università di Genova, appena uscito, e dà lettura della Premessa con cui il volume si apre.

In tale Premessa si dà notizia anzitutto della formazione della raccolta genovese di papiri, nonché della scelta dei cinquanta testi che costituiscono il primo volume. Dopo un accenno ai criteri editoriali, si passa ad una rapida descrizione dei papiri più interessanti.

Prende quindi la parola la dott. Zingale Migliardi, che fornisce qualche informazione preliminare sugli altri papiri in corso di studio, in vista della preparazione del secondo volume, ed è a disposizione per maggiori chiarimenti sul primo volume testé presentato.

R.S. Bagnall:

"Greek papyri and ostraka in the Florida State University Library"

The Strozier Library of Florida State University in Tallahassee acquired late in 1973 a collection of Greek papyri and Greek and Latin ostraka from Egypt, all of which were said to have been in a private European collection since early in this century.

The 25 papyri are all orders for payment or fragments thereof addressed to a banker Protarchos; they date to the 30th through 32nd years of either Ptolemy VI Philometor or Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. They are all small rectangles of varying size, found as mummy-cartonnage at Abusir el-Melek. Their very considerable degree of standardization in formula is of interest as suggesting something closer to modern checks than is often admitted to have existed.

The 32 ostraka, all but 3 fragments in Greek, come from a Roman military camp, probably in the Eastern desert, with the finds from which they have a close resemblance in handwriting, format and subject matter. Most of them are letters, some on official business from one officer to another, others between soldiers and members of their families on private business.

La traite d'esclaves en Egypte

I. Biezunska-Malowist

Les problèmes concernant le commerce d'esclaves dans l'Egypte ptolémaïque et romaine furent traités dans un grand nombre d'ouvrages, d'articles et maints commentaires aux textes. Il suffit de mentionner ici l'analyse des actes de vente et d'achat faite par Orsolina Montevecchi¹ dans ses Ricerche di Sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano, les travaux de Raphael Taubenschlag liés aux droit d'esclavage,² les chapitres concernant l'Egypte dans le livre de Pringsheim³, les discussions sur l'anacrisis dont dernièrement les articles du professeur Wolff,⁴ et plusieurs articles de notre jeune collègue Jean Straus.⁵ Il n'y a donc pas besoin de présenter ici encore une fois les documents publiés, maintes fois analysés et bien connus de tous ceux qui sont ici présents. Il est vrai que depuis l'analyse faite par Mlle Montevecchi et depuis la publication des travaux de Taubenschlag nos sources se sont enrichies, même la dernière liste des actes de vente et d'achat d'esclaves faite par M. Straus dans son article de la "Chronique d'Egypte" en 1971 doit être complétée par quelques nouveaux documents publiés dans les Oxyrynchos Papyri [2951, 3050, 3054], P.Col.512⁶, P.Med.Inv.7306⁷ publié dernièrement par M. Geraci, et autant que je sache il y en a encore trois au cours de publication et plusieurs ventes sont mentionnés dans le P. Thmouis qui va être publié par Mme Sophie Kambitsis. Ces nouveaux documents ne changent quand même pas d'une façon importante les conclusions des auteurs que je viens de citer.

Vu le programme très chargé de notre congrès, je voudrais limiter mon intervention à la présentation de quelques questions qui me semblent non résolues.

Or Westermann dans son livre sur l'esclavage dans l'Egypte ptolémaïque⁸ avait nié l'existence d'un esclavage développé dans ce pays en soulignant qu'il n'y avait pas en Egypte une traite d'esclaves, c'est à dire un commerce d'esclaves exercé par des marchands spécialisés, puisque on ne rencontre dans des papyrus aucun terme désignant un tel marchand. La même observation est valable pour la période romaine. Cet argument comme tous les arguments a silentio n'a pas de valeur décisive. J'ai donc essayé de vérifier, si l'on peut dans les documents découvrir l'existence de marchands d'esclaves dans l'Egypte romaine. Pour la période ptolémaïque nous manquons de documents exception faite des Archives de Zenon et de documents normatifs. La correspondance de Zenon fournit quelques informations sur la traite d'esclaves hors d'Egypte, sur l'importation en Egypte des esclaves de Syrie et de Palestine.⁹ Les archives de Zenon ne se pretent pas à tirer des conclusions valables pour l'Egypte entière.

Les documents de la période romaine dont nous pouvons tirer quelques informations sur le marché d'esclaves ne sont pas nombreux - ce sont surtout les actes d'achat et de vente et quelques lettres privées. Ces documents ne dépassent pas une soixantaine pour les quatre siècles de l'Empire et de nouveau toutes les conclusions générales tirées d'une documentation si restreinte ne sont que de hypothèses.

Nous savons déjà par les travaux antérieurs, et dernièrement la documentation complète à ce sujet était fournie par l'article déjà cité

de M. Straus, que les esclaves étrangers importés en Egypte étaient rares. Par un pur hasard les documents nouveaux augmentent un peu le chiffre de ces esclaves - P.Oxy 2951 - parle d'une esclave d'Arabie, 3053 d'un esclave d'Ossroene [Mesopotamie]; 3054 - d'un esclave de Bostra [Arabie], dans un papyrus inédit - d'Oxyrynchos, il apparaît une esclave phrygienne; dans un autre une esclave pahlagonienne. Cependant les mentions des esclaves étrangers dans l'Egypte romaine sont rares. Le fait par lui-même semble prouver que l'Egypte était à l'écart de la traite "internationale" [entre parenthèses] d'esclaves. C'est qui s'accorde d'ailleurs bien avec ce que nous savons de l'interdiction d'exporter des esclaves oikogeneis de l'Egypte.¹⁰ Les trouvailles dans différentes localités de la χώρα égyptienne des actes d'achat d'esclaves rédigés hors Egypte sont en général expliquées par le fait que ces esclaves sont arrivés en Egypte accompagnant leurs propriétaires qui s'y sont établis. Cette explication semble probable surtout pour les actes d'achat établis entre les soldats de l'armée romaine stationnant hors d'Egypte ou comme c'est le cas du papyrus d'Oxyrynchos 2951 en Egypte même. Mais - il me semble - que même dans quelques uns de ces documents on peut déceler l'activité de marchands d'esclaves. Dans l'acte d'achat BGU 937 d'Héracléopolis la Grande les deux partis sont de la même localité, mais l'esclave est d'origine pontique, le papyrus d'Oxyrynchos 3053 contient un enregistrement à Oxyrynchos d'un achat fait à Aurelia Tripolei en Phénicie d'une esclave d'Ossroène, le vendeur était aussi un Ossroenien l'esclave fut amenée l'année précédente en Egypte ἀπὸ καταπλοῦ on mentionne même le bateau. Le P.Oxy 3054 présente le même phénomène - l'enregistrement d'un acte d'achat fait à Bostra - mais cette fois ci la

propriétaire est elle même de Bostra tandis que dans le papyrus précédant c'était un citoyen d'Alexandrie. Mais l'esclave n'a que deux ans et il avait déjà changé quatre fois de propriétaire à Bostra - c'est ce qui indique plutôt qu'il y était entre les mains de marchands d'esclaves. Le P.Mich. 546 [207 AD] contient semble-t-il une demande d'anakrisis, d'un esclave qui avait été acheté en Paphlagonne deux mois et demi avant cette demande. Il est probable d'après le verso qu'un acheteur nouveau dépose cette demande. Deux autres documents mentionnant la vente des esclaves indiquent, il me semble, d'une façon plus convaincante l'existence en Egypte d'une traite d'esclaves liée à celle qui existe hors d'Egypte. L'un est un document trouvé à Oxyrynchos - nr 2771 de l'année 323 - une femme de l'île de Cos avait autorisé son mari à vendre éventuellement l'esclave qui elle possédait. Le document avait été probablement établi à Cos - il est donc arrivé jusqu'à Oxyrynchos en accompagnant l'esclave et celui qui l'a achetée. Un acte d'achat établi à Rhodes publié par M. Oates en 1969¹¹ [Journal of Egyptian Archaeology] fut trouvé à Oxyrynchos. Un Aurelius Epimachos habitant de Césarée vend une fille de Maurétanie à quelqu'un dont la provenance n'est pas mentionnée dans la partie conservée du document. L'éditeur est plutôt d'avis que le document est venu en Egypte avec le propriétaire, mais n'exclut pas la possibilité que l'acheteur était un marchand d'esclaves, d'autant plus que dans la seconde colonne du document très abîmée se trouvait peut-être un autre acte d'achat d'esclave.

Le nombre de documents concernant les esclaves d'origine étrangère en Egypte est trop restreint pour qu'on puisse résoudre le problème de savoir si nous avons affaire aux esclaves achetés par des habitants de

l'Egypte pendant leur séjour à l'étranger ou aux esclaves importés en Egypte par les marchands d'esclaves. Je voudrais quand même attirer votre attention sur l'acte beaucoup plus tardif [VI^es.] publié autrefois par Preisigke¹² en Archiv. f. Pap.III, qui donne une preuve assez convaincante de l'activité de marchands d'esclaves.

L'analyse des contrats d'achat et de vente de l'Egypte même qui prend en considération la localité où a lieu la transaction et les lieux de provenance des parties contractant l'achat ajoute il me semble, quelques arguments à la thèse qu'il existait en Egypte un trafic d'esclaves spécialisé. Il est vrai que la majorité d'actes d'achat et de vente d'esclaves, là où la provenance de parties concluant la transaction est mentionnée concerne des gens de la même localité où on a établi le document. Là où la provenance de l'acheteur et du vendeur n'est pas mentionnée on peut, je crois, supposer qu'ils habitent le même lieu.

Il y a quand même quelques documents où les deux parties ne sont pas de la même localité et aussi des documents où on mentionne des ventes antérieures du même esclave. Je veux citer quelques uns de ces textes à titre d'exemple.

Dans le P.S.I.1228 a. 188 la vendeuse vient d'un village MO, l'acheteuse d'Aphrodisios de la Petite Oasis,

Dans la demande d'anakrisis P.Oxy 1463 - a 215 - la vendeuse vient d'un village de l'Héracléopolites [Choinothis], l'acheteuse d'Oxyrynchos [l'esclave est d'origine asiatique]. Dans le P.Oxy 2582 [a.49] le vendeur vient d'un village Taamechis, toparchie Koïs, nome Héracléopolite, l'acheteur est d'Oxyrynchos.

Dans l'acte de vente P.Oxy 95 - a.129 - l'esclave vendue par un

Agathodemon à un citoyen romain Julius [C.Julius Germanus fils de C. Julius Domethianus] avait été achetée par son propriétaire actuel à un citoyen d'Alexandrie. L'acte BGU 192 [a.136] est établi à Ptolemais Euergetis, la vendeuse Segathis est probablement de la même localité, l'acheteuse est une asté, son mari et kyrios est citoyen d'Alexandrie, l'esclave a 8 ans.

Le Pap.Boswinkel 7 d'Heracléopolite a.225 contient un acte d'achat d'une esclave dont la propriétaire est Aurelia Talbais du village de Narmuthis de l'Arsinoïte. L'acheteuse est d'Antinoupolis. La même esclave avait été achetée l'année précédente à une citoyenne d'Antinoupolis les deux actes étant établis par le même notaire du nom Heracléopolite. On y mentionne encore deux ventes antérieures. L'éditeur suppose que l'acte fut établi dans ce notariat parce que l'esclave avait été aliénée auparavant par l'intermédiaire de ces agoranomes. Ce serait l'unique exemple d'un tel procédé, d'habitude le vendeur transmet les titres de propriété de l'esclave à l'acheteur sans tenir compte de l'endroit où ces titres été établis. Dans les Papyri Lipsiae 4 et 5 le vendeur est d'Antinoupolis il vend l'esclave crétoise Stephané qu'il avait lui même acheté d'un Alexandrin.

Tous ces cas où l'achat d'un esclave a lieu entre les parties de différentes localités ainsi que les cas où on mentionne deux, trois ou même quatre ventes du même esclave parfois dans un laps de temps très court me font supposer qu'il y avait ici une entremise de marchands professionnels. Deux faits encore me semblent corroborer cette hypothèse. Dans les documents analysés nous rencontrons un pourcentage assez grand d'Alexandrins comme vendeurs et acheteurs d'esclaves. On rencontre aussi

des enfants esclaves ou des esclaves très jeunes qui changent plusieurs fois de propriétaire. P.Col. 512 publié par M. Gilliam dans le JJP trouvé à Oxyrynchos, mentionne un esclave, né à l'Alexandrie et le vendeur est citoyen d'Alexandrie, d'après PSI 1254 [l'année 237] un esclave de 8 ans pendant une année a changé deux fois de propriétaire. Il est possible que ces citoyens d'Alexandrie aient résidé dans la et, étant des gens plutôt aisés, apparaissent souvent comme parties dans les actes d'achat et de vente. Mais d'autre part nous savons, que justement à Alexandrie l'esclavage était plus développé qu'ailleurs en Egypte, qu'il y existait de grandes "familiae" serviles et un grand pourcentage de contrats de nourrices conservés dans notre documentation et concernant l'allaitement de petits esclaves [recueilli sur le fumier et d'autres] provient d'Alexandrie. J'ai rassemblé la documentation dans un article "L'esclavage à Alexandrie" qui sera publiée dans le volume des Actes du colloque de Besançon de 1973. Nous rencontrons des documents comme le P.Fayoum 346 de l'année 171 p un contrat où une propriétaire de Ptolemais Euergetis autorise un certain Dioscorus à vendre son esclave à Alexandrie. On pourrait donc peut-être supposer, que justement à Alexandrie il y avait un marché d'esclaves assez important, que c'étaient surtout des Alexandrins qui s'occupaient de la traite d'esclaves, et peut-être même que c'était le centre d'approvisionnement du marché par l'accroissement naturel des esclaves.

Dans l'histoire de l'esclavage nous trouvons des analogies - dans la Ire moitié du XIX^e siècle la Virginie approvisionnait en esclaves les territoires du Sud plus éloignés, Lisbonne au XVI-XVII siècle jouait un rôle semblable. Là où nous avons affaire aux esclaves enfants changeant souvent de maître - nous pouvons aussi supposer qu'ils étaient entre les

mains de marchands d'esclaves ou bien qu'on spéculait sur leur prix,
mais cela aussi indiquerait l'existence d'un marché d'esclaves.

Notes

1. O. Montevecchi, Ricerche di Sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano. I contratti di compravendita. Aeg 19, 1935 p. 11-53.
2. R. Taubenschlag, Das Sklavenrecht im Rechte der Papyri, Z.S.S. 50, 1930, p. 140-169 (=Opera Minora II Varsovie 1959 p. 223-257), The Law of graeco-roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri 2^{ed} Varsovie 1955.
3. Fr. Pringsheim, The Greek Law of Sale, Weimar 1950.
4. H. J. Wolff, Neue Juristische Urkunden, III Beaufsichtigung des Sklavenhandels im römischen Aegypten: Die Anakrisis Z.S.S. 86, 1966 p. 340-347.
5. J. A. Straus, Le pays d'origine des esclaves de l'Egypte romaine, Chr. d'Eg. 46, 1971, p. 363-366. Le prix des esclaves dans les papyrus d'époque romaine trouvés en Egypte, Z.P.E. 11, 1973, p. 289-295.
6. J. F. Gilliam, The Sale of a Slave through a Greek Diploma, J.J.P. XVI- XVII 1971 p. 63-70.
7. Papyri documentari dell'Università Cattolica di Milano, Milan 1974.
8. W. L. Westermann, Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt, New York 1929 p. 58, cf The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity, Philadelphia 1955.
9. Iza Biezunska Malowist, L'esclavage dans l'Egypte greco-romaine, I L'Egypte Ptolemaïque Varsovie 1974 ch. I.
10. Le Gnomon de l'Idiologue p. 67, cf. I. Biezunska-Malowist, Recherches sur l'esclavage dans l'Egypte romaine. Comtes Rend. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres 102 (1959) p. 203-240.
11. J. F. Oates, A Rhodian Auction Sale of a Slave Girl, J.E.A. 55, 1969 p. 191-210.
12. Fr. Preisigke, Ein Sklavenkauf des 6 Jahrhunderts (P. gr. Str. Inv. Nr. 1404) A.P.F. III 1906 p. 415-424.

SUR QUELQUES INTERPRETATIONS DE XMT

Alain Blanchard

PLANCHE XI (1)

Les observations qui suivent n'ont d'autre but que de servir de complément à l'important article que J.-O. Tjäder a consacré au sigle $\chi\mu\gamma$, il y a maintenant quatre ans, dans la revue Eranos (2). Depuis plus d'un siècle, les documents qui portent $\chi\mu\gamma$ se sont accumulés, les interprétations du sigle se sont multipliées (3). J.-O. Tjäder a eu le mérite de tenter un vigoureux effort de clarification. C'est cet effort qu'il m'a paru possible de poursuivre sur certains points (4).

Un problème préliminaire reste encore en suspens: c'est celui de la forme même du sigle. En 1934, dans une note de commentaire que mentionne accessoirement Tjäder (5), mais qui jouit auprès des papyrologues d'une grande renommée (6), Germaine Rouillard indiquait que dans trois papyrus de la collection Weill on pouvait lire $\chi\mu\gamma\alpha\iota\delta$, $\chi\mu\eta\alpha\delta$ et $\chi\mu\alpha\iota\gamma\delta\beta$, le seul élément permanent étant finalement $\chi\mu$ (7). Déjà en 1924, elle avait signalé deux de ces papyrus en les attribuant curieusement à une collection de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes à Paris (8). Les trois documents mentionnés sont conservés à l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne où ils ont les numéros d'inventaire 2291, 2386 et 2385. Ils datent de la première moitié du VI^e s. On trouvera dans la planche la reproduction photographique des formes litigieuses.

Dans l'inv. 2291, il est évident qu'il faut lire $\chi\mu\gamma\alpha\iota\delta$ ($\alpha\iota\delta = 99 = \acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$) et non pas $\chi\mu\gamma\alpha\iota\delta$. Rouillard l'a reconnu dans une lettre de 1937 (9). En 1950, les éditeurs des papyrus littéraires de Nessana ont de leur côté retrouvé d'instinct la bonne lecture (10).

La lecture $\chi\mu\eta\alpha\delta$ (inv. 2386) résiste mieux. Mais il n'est pas impossible de voir dans l' α un η dont le trait vertical se serait infléchi pour permettre la ligature avec le δ suivant. On peut également admettre que l' η est en fait un γ raté, avec un premier trait excessif, le second trait, en ligature avec le η , étant écrit comme cette lettre de façon très cursive. Je propose donc de lire une fois encore $\chi\mu\gamma\alpha\iota\delta$.

En ce qui concerne l'inv. 2385, toujours dans sa lettre de 1937, Rouillard a corrigé sa première lecture $\chi\mu\alpha\iota\gamma\delta\beta$ en $\chi\mu\gamma\alpha\iota\delta\beta$. La correction s'impose en effet. Je ne sais comment interpréter l'isolement du γ , séparé du μ par le η . Un tel isolement n'est

pas sans exemple comme en témoigne précisément le prêt de grain de 497 ap. J.-C. (SB 7758) commenté par Rouillard et qui porte à son début (voir la planche) la forme $\chi\mu\gamma$ ($\chi\mu/\gamma$ Rouillard). De même ρ peut se présenter de façon inhabituelle comme dans le P. Lond. V 1714 de 570 (voir la planche) où les deux lettres superposées (le ρ sur le γ) encadrent le trait horizontal du γ (11). Mais on peut invoquer plus simplement la précipitation du scribeur qui, sur la lancée du μ , a tracé la forme symétrique du ρ . On retrouve une précipitation semblable, sinon plus grande, dans le tracé du signe final que Rouillard interprète comme un β , mais qui est sans doute un chrisme raté. L'ensemble complet se lit en effet $\rho\chi\mu\gamma\rho$. L'encadrement de $\chi\mu\gamma$ par deux chrismes est tout à fait normal comme le prouvent, par exemple, en 525 le P. Cairo Masp. II 125. et en 535 le P. Cairo Masp. III 297.

Si mes lectures sont exactes, il n'existe plus d'exemple où la forme du sigle soit véritablement remise en question.

Mais il peut arriver que le sigle soit plus ou moins développé. A juste titre, Tjäder a accordé la plus grande attention aux différents documents où se présentent des cas de ce genre. Sans doute est-ce la raison pour laquelle il a ressuscité la vieille interprétation, imaginée par Wessely en 1887 et depuis lors assez unanimement rejetée, qui fait de $\chi\mu\gamma$ l'abréviation de $\chiειρ\acute{o}\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}$ (12). Il n'a pas voulu, en effet, négliger la forme $\chi\mu\gamma\rho$ indiquée par Wessely quoique sans exemple véritablement accessible. Certes il n'admet pas que $\chiειρ\acute{o}\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}$ soit le sens originel de $\chi\mu\gamma$ qui pour lui est avant tout un sigle chrétien; cette signification ne vaudrait que pour la fin de l'antiquité et dans des cas isolés. On s'étonne cependant qu'un tel changement de sens (et pour quel sens !) ait pu se produire dans le cas d'un sigle si répandu et de valeur si marquée. On pourrait aussi se demander si la formule $\chiειρ\acute{o}\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}$ n'a pas été créée pour les besoins de la cause. Mais il vaut mieux se placer immédiatement sur le terrain strictement paléographique. On trouvera dans la planche une reproduction des formes rencontrées dans les P. Sorb. inv. 2356 et 2382, tous deux de l'extrême fin du Ve s. et inédits. Dans les deux cas, le ρ est directement ligaturé au γ . Le trait qui le coupe (et l'entoure presque complètement dans le second cas) paraît étonnant en tant que barre d'abréviation. La solution est apportée par le P. Cairo Masp. I 107 (pl. XXXII), malheureusement mutilé, où le γ et le ρ se croisent. Il faut lire dans tous les cas $\chi\mu\gamma\rho$ ($\chi\mu\gamma$ et le chrisme) et non $\chi\mu\gamma\rho$. L'interprétation $\chiειρ\acute{o}\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}$ paraît bien manquer de tout support.

Une fois ce problème réglé, les formes où le sigle $\chi\mu\gamma$ est plus ou moins développé, sinon entièrement résolu, présentent,

comme l'a souligné Tjäder (13), une remarquable convergence et orientent vers l'interprétation $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu \text{Μαρία γεννῶ}$. Il est bon de le rappeler avant d'aborder un autre type d'interprétation qui fait de $\chi\mu\gamma$ un chiffre - 643 - et amène à rechercher quelle est la formule grecque dont les lettres additionnées aboutissent à ce total (isopsépie). Tjäder a fort bien montré les raisons du succès rencontré par ce type d'explication auprès des modernes (14). Il a fort bien montré également que l'explication isopsépique, tout en étant possible, était loin d'être démontrée et restait en somme du domaine de l'imaginaire. Je voudrais cependant préciser encore ce point en prenant comme exemple l'équivalence de $\chi\mu\gamma$ et de $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. Tjäder estime que c'est la meilleure (15). Je l'ai moi-même jadis défendue (16).

J'avais, en effet, été sensible à une idée formulée par Seymour de Ricci une première fois en 1911 (17), une seconde fois en 1914 (18), mais que tous paraissaient avoir ignorée. Elle n'est pas sans intérêt. Seymour de Ricci recherchait le sens exact du sigle $\theta\beta$ rencontré sur trois inscriptions juives de Palestine et d'Égypte - pour nous CIJ 964 et CIJ/CRJ 1436 et 1437. Ce qui lui a fait préférer la résolution $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, c'est précisément l'équivalence numérique entre cette formule et $\chi\mu\gamma$. Les Juifs auraient en somme voulu se démarquer des chrétiens chez qui le χ de $\chi\mu\gamma = 643 = \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ devait évoquer nécessairement le Christ. Le problème n'intéresse pas seulement les épigraphistes, mais également les papyrologues, comme me le signalait Roger Rémondon en 1968. Le P. Herm. Rees 64 comporte en effet sans doute un exemple de $\theta\beta$. Mais il apparaît aussi que l'idée de Seymour de Ricci, très séduisante dans la mesure où l'on constate un parallélisme certain dans l'emploi de $\chi\mu\gamma$ et de $\theta\beta$, ne saurait absolument convaincre. Elle n'a pas convaincu les éditeurs des CIJ et CRJ qui pour $\theta\beta$ ont adopté la résolution $\theta(\epsilon\omega)\beta(\eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\iota)$. La valeur isopsépique de $\chi\mu\gamma$ n'est pas davantage assurée. On serait même conforté dans l'idée de faire de lui une suite d'initiales.

En fait, pour démontrer la valeur isopsépique de $\chi\mu\gamma$, il faudrait, comme je l'ai tenté par la suite, d'une part montrer que la formule à laquelle on pense existe bien réellement et avec une certaine fréquence d'emploi; d'autre part établir un lien authentique entre la formule et le sigle. $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ est l'équivalence la plus sérieuse parce que ce slogan se trouve inscrit sur une tuile romaine et $\chi\mu\gamma$ sur plusieurs autres semblables. Mais, comme le remarque Tjäder (19), un tel lien entre le slogan et le sigle paraît assez faible. L'on regrette également de ne pas trouver d'autres exemples du slogan. Il pourrait avoir une origine biblique. L'idée qu'il exprime est fréquente dans les Psaumes, mais alors, $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ est ordinairement précédé de l'article et $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ d'un complément; d'autre part $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ remplace fréquemment $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, voir en par-

ticulier Ps 117 6 qu'He 13 6 a puissamment contribué à diffuser. On ne trouve jamais, à ma connaissance, le slogan θεὸς βοηθός dans les inscriptions, en particulier les inscriptions syriennes et égyptiennes où se rencontrent par ailleurs les plus nombreux exemples de χμγ; tout au plus l'expression εἰς θεὸς ὁ βοηθός qui ne convient pas; encore le participe βοηθῶν est-il plus commun que l'adjectif βοηθός. La fortune de cet adjectif est cependant confirmée, du moins pour l'époque de Constantin, par Eusèbe, Vie de Constantin, I, 27 et surtout IV 20; mais ces textes ne permettent pas de retrouver avec exactitude la forme du slogan. Il faut enfin signaler, pour être complet, que la comparaison d'inscriptions parallèles - moyen habituel pour découvrir le sens d'un sigle - ne permet d'atteindre, dans ces conditions, aucune certitude. Deux inscriptions syriennes paraissent révélatrices:

1. Jalabert-Mouterde (20), IV, 1814 B, inscription de Quasr el-Mouharram:

Ἐμμανουήλ, μεθ' ἡμῶν <δ> θεός, χμγ.

2. Jalabert-Mouterde, IV, 1447, inscription de Kōkaha:

Ἐμμανουήλ, μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, βοηθός.

Mais, comme on le voit, χμγ ne recouvre en fait que βοηθός.

Est-il possible de conclure sur des remarques moins négatives? Considérons désormais non plus le sigle χμγ lui-même, mais le texte papyrologique qui le premier a permis d'établir l'interprétation Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ: le P. Grenf. II CXIIa qui est conservé tout près d'ici, à la Bodleienne (21). On trouvera dans la planche une reproduction photographique complète de ce petit morceau de parchemin.

En fait, ce document présente d'abord une difficulté que Tjäder n'a peut-être pas résolue de façon satisfaisante. Il porte en effet trois fois la mention $\overline{\chi\sigma}$ (= Χριστός) μαρία γεννα, $\overline{\chi\sigma}$ étant, dans le second cas, intercalé entre μαρία et γεννα (22). Evidemment $\overline{\chi\sigma}$ surprend. Tjäder a essayé de voir dans le σ une marque d'abréviation (23). Cela n'est pas possible. Une pareille marque aurait été constituée par un trait droit oblique ou bien aurait affecté le tracé sinusoïdal que l'on constate à plusieurs reprises, l. 1, 2, 5 et 6, pour l'abréviation de -ατ. D'autre part, en raison de la barre horizontale qui le surmonte, $\overline{\chi\sigma}$ ne peut être considéré que comme nomen sacrum; il faut en accepter toutes les conséquences. Je me rallierai donc plutôt à l'interprétation des premiers éditeurs qui considèrent sans équivoque, dans leur note à la l. 1, que $\overline{\chi\sigma}$ est une faute pour $\overline{\chi\nu}$. D'une façon générale, le texte du parchemin est très fautif - moins, à vrai dire, en ce qui concerne le consonantisme qu'en ce qui concerne le vocalisme (24) - et il ne faut pas trop hésiter à le corriger.

Autre difficulté: le P. Grenfell est un document tardif; ses

premiers éditeurs le datent, sans être trop affirmatifs, du VIIe s. Dans ces conditions, la formule Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ peut-elle être autre chose qu'une simple réinterprétation du sigle χμγ? En fait, selon Tjäder, l'idée qu'elle exprime se retrouverait dans plusieurs passages d'Ignace d'Antioche qui annoncent sur ce point le Symbole des Apôtres (25). Tous ces textes constituent une réponse aux premières tendances hétérodoxes qui se manifestaient alors et dissociaient en Jésus l'homme de chair et le Christ. Ils réaffirment la réalité de la naissance du Christ. A vrai dire, dans les lettres d'Ignace et dans le Symbole, le verbe γεννᾷω est au passif et il a le Christ comme sujet; dans la formule du P. Grenfell, il est à l'actif et l'accent est mis sur Marie. Tout se résume peut-être dans l'impression que produit sur nous cet actif. Ou bien il paraît exprimer la vigueur d'un slogan jailli dans les débuts du christianisme et dans ce cas la formule Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ peut très bien représenter le sens de χμγ. Ou bien il apparaît comme une maladresse explicable seulement par le rapprochement tardif du Symbole des Apôtres et d'un sigle étranger. Dans ce cas, le sens de χμγ serait encore à trouver.

② *mi. ci. desous, p. 24* -

NOTES

(1) Je remercie M. Jean Scherer, Directeur de l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne, qui m'a gracieusement communiqué, outre la photographie du SB 7758, celles des P. Sorb. inv. 2291, 2356, 2382, 2385 et 2386, tous inédits, et m'a autorisé à en reproduire ici la partie qui m'intéressait. Le P. Lond. V 1714, l. 1, est reproduit avec l'autorisation du Département des Manuscrits de la British Library et d'après un cliché de cette bibliothèque. Le P. Grenfell CXIIa est reproduit d'après un cliché University Press d'Oxford. Tous ces documents sont reproduits grandeur nature.

(2) J.-O. Tjäder, Christ, Our Lord, Born of the Virgin Mary (XMT and VDN), Eranos, LXVIII, 1970, p. 148-190.

(3) Voir, par exemple, le tableau dressé par M. Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions (The Near East, 200 B.C. - A.D. 1100), Jérusalem-Londres, 1940, p. 111.

(4) Dans son article, Tjäder ne se borne pas à passer en revue les différentes interprétations de χμγ et à dégager la meilleure. Il met également en relation le sigle grec et le sigle latin VDN qu'il interprète comme une abréviation des mots Virgine Dominus natus. Ceci est évidemment un autre problème et je laisse aux latinistes le soin d'en discuter.

(5) Tjäder, loc. cit., n. 72, p. 185.

- (6) Cf. en dernier lieu la mention qu'en fait O. Montevecchi dans son récent manuel, La papirologia, Turin, 1973, p. 290.
- (7) G. Rouillard, Prêt de grain, A.D. 497, Mém. Maspéro, Le Caire, II, 1934, p. 181-182.
- (8) Mém. Schlumberger, Paris, 1924, p. 88, n. 8.
- (9) Cf. H. C. Youtie, C. Bonner, Two Curse Tablets from Beisan, TAPhA, LXVIII, 1937, p. 75.
- (10) P. Colt II, p. 145-146.
- (11) La barre oblique d'abréviation qu'indiquent les premiers éditeurs est en fait le trait vertical du ϱ .
- (12) Tjäder, loc. cit., p. 156 et 158.
- (13) Tjäder, loc. cit., p. 159-160.
- (14) Tjäder, loc. cit., p. 158-159.
- (15) Tjäder, loc. cit., p. 158.
- (16) Cf. CE, XLIV, 1969, p. 161 (avec une coquille qui a transformé le singulier en pluriel); Positions de thèses de troisième cycle soutenues devant la Faculté en 1969, Publ. de la Fac. des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris-Sorbonne, Série "Recherches", t. 62, Paris, 1970, p. 310.
- (17) BSAA, XI, 1911, p. 326.
- (18) REG, XXVII, 1914, p. 162.
- (19) Tjäder, loc. cit., n. 48, p. 181.
- (20) L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, IV, Paris, 1955.
- (21) MS. Gr. th. g. 6 (P).
- (22) Une croix précède l'ensemble des trois mentions. La croix dont les premiers éditeurs ont fait précéder la deuxième mention appartient en fait à la ligne précédente.
- (23) Tjäder, loc. cit., p. 160-161.
- (24) En ce qui concerne le consonantisme, on note seulement la confusion de τ et δ : $\delta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (pour $\delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\delta\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$), l. 3; $\upsilon\tau\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon$ (pour $\upsilon\delta\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon$), l. 3-4. L. 2, là où les premiers éditeurs ont lu $\varphi\omicron\varsigma$ (pour $\omega\varsigma$), le texte porte simplement $\omicron\varsigma$.
- (25) Tjäder, loc. cit., p. 168 et n. 94, p. 189.

von N. LEWIS BASP 13 (1976) 6-159.

Χριστὸν Μαρτὶά προϋφ' εὐταῖς λέττῃς ἐς λέξη 663 εἰρ. Γραφ. II 62 a -
id. en 1917 ab. n. 1897

von

E. BOSWINKEL

Seit vier Jahren besitzt das Leidener Papyrologische Institut 5 zusammengehörende Wachstafelchen, welche in der Schule verwendet wurden. Die Tafelchen sind 13 cm hoch und 18 cm breit; die Seiten, welche zum Schreiben bestimmt waren, haben einen Rand von 1 bis $1\frac{1}{2}$ cm; die Wachsschicht ist dann, wie üblich, in einer Vertiefung angebracht worden. Im oberen Rand, (in einem Tafelchen im unteren Rand), hat man zweimal 2 Löcher, welche $1\frac{1}{2}$ cm voneinander stehen, gebohrt; in den meisten Löchern sieht man noch Spuren von Bindfäden. Wir können wohl annehmen, dass die 5 Tafelchen zu einem Pentaptychon zusammengeschnürt waren.

Das 1. Tafelchen zeigt an der Aussenseite nur unbeschriebenes Holz ohne Vertiefung; die Wachsschicht und darauf die Beschriftung befindet sich nur auf der Innenseite. Das 2., 3. und 4. Tafelchen hat man auf beiden Seiten beschrieben; das 5. Tafelchen wieder nur auf der Innenseite; die Aussenseite ist glatt, ohne Vertiefung, aber in der Mitte sieht man eine sich sehr unregelmässig ausbreitende Wachsschicht, welche etwa zwei Drittel der Oberfläche bedeckt.

Der Fundort der Tafelchen ist nicht bekannt und der Inhalt gibt darüber keine Auskunft. Die Datierung muss jedenfalls nach 212 n. Chr. fallen auf Grund des Namens des Schreibers: Aurelios Antonios. Eine genauere Datierung kann man nur aus der Schrift herleiten und das ist sehr schwierig bei diesen mühsam, mit vieler Sorgfalt eingravierten Buchstaben. Am wahrscheinlichsten ist m.E. eine Datierung auf das 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.. Die Wachsschicht, und damit auch die Beschriftung ist, das 1. Tafelchen ausgenommen, überall sehr gut erhalten mit stellenweise kleinen Löchern oder Abblätterungen. Am 4. Tafelchen befindet sich auf einer Seite in der Mitte ein kleiner Wachsklumpen, wohl herkommend von einem Loch in der Wachsschicht in der Mitte des 5. Tafelchen. Die Buchstaben wurden auf diesen 4 Tafelchen mit grosser Sorgfalt geschrieben.

Das 1. Tafelchen hingegen hat eine schlecht konservierte Wachsschicht, welche öfters zerbrochen ist; nächst manchen kleinen Löchern hat dieses Tafelchen auch sehr viele Abblätterungen. Die Schrift ist infolgedessen sehr schlecht leserlich; es ist möglich, dass dieses eine Tafelchen von einer andren Hand geschrieben wurde; es will mir scheinen, dass sich hier, im Vergleich zu der Schriftart der Buchstaben auf den andren Tafelchen, kleine Unterschiede vortun.

Wie ich schon erwähnt habe, wurden diese Tafelchen in der Schule benützt. Über diese Schulübungen ist uns schon manches bekannt; ich nenne hier nur C. Wessely, Stud. Pal. II, O. Guéraud - P. Jouguet, Un livre d'écuyer und P. Collart, P. Bour. 1.

In den Leidener Wachstafelchen finden wir siebenmal denselben Spruch als Schreibübung und dazu noch, nur auf eine Seite eines Tafelchens, eine Silbenübung und eine Rechenaufgabe. Über dem Spruch steht in allen Fällen der Name des Schreibers **Ἀυρήλιος Ἀντωνίου Νεμεσιωνος**; dieser Name wurde immer mit kleineren Buchstaben als der Spruch selber geschrieben. Die Buchstaben sind auch hier Majuskeln, aber man spürt doch eine gewisse Tendenz zu einer mehr kursiven Schrift. Es wurde immer auf Linien geschrieben. Nur am 1. Tafelchen steht nach dem Spruch aufs Neue der Name des Schreibers; es folgt noch **μητρὸς** oder **μακρὸς** und dann Spuren, auch auf der nächsten Zeile, welche ich wegen des schlechten Zustandes der Wachsschicht nicht entziffern konnte.

Der Spruch, den der Schreiber siebenmal geschrieben hat, lautet:

οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς φίλους παρόντας μόνον τιμῶσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μακρὰν ἀπόντας ἀγαπῶσιν, diese ehren ihre Freunde nur wenn sie anwesend sind, jene lieben sie auch wenn sie weit entfernt sind.

Ich sagte schon, dass der Schreiber immer mit der grössten Sorgfalt geschrieben hat; er hat aber nicht jedesmal seine Buchstaben genau so gross geschrieben, so dass die Zahl der Buchstaben pro Zeile abweicht. Er scheut sich nicht seine Zeilen mitten in einem Wort abzubrechen, wobei er keinen Rücksicht auf die Silbentrennung nimmt. Wir finden z.B. einmal **φίλων**, einmal **φίλων**, dreimal **φίλων** und zweimal **φίλων**. Er schreibt sogar das Wort **οἱ** auf 2 Zeilen. Es geht deutlich hervor, dass der Schreiber von einer Vorschrift abschreibt, denn auf 2 Tafelchen schreibt er, jedesmal auf nur einer Seite **μακρὰν** statt **καὶ μακρὰν**. Dies ist aber der einzige Fehler, den er begangen hat.

Nach dem letzten Wort des Spruches hat der Schreiber fünfmal einen schrägen Doppelstrich gezogen. In vier Fällen aber war das Tafelchen dann noch nicht völlig beschrieben; auf dem ersten Tafelchen wurde dann, wie ich schon erwähnt habe, der Name des Schreibers wiederholt. Einmal hat der Schüler, auf einer neuen Zeile, den Spruch wieder angefangen, einmal hat er auf der letzten Zeile, nach dem Doppelstrich, noch **οἱ μὲν** hinzugefügt und einmal hat er nach dem Doppelstrich einen Freiraum gelassen.

Dass Aurelios Antonios Nemesionos der Name des Schülers ist, und nicht der des Lehrers, - was möglich sein würde, - scheint mir deutlich aus der Schrift hervorzugehen. Der Name wurde zwar immer kleiner als der Spruch geschrieben, aber die Buchstaben sind der Schrift des Spruches völlig ähnlich. Dass der Schüler seinen Namen vor dem Pensum schrieb, finden wir auch in Ziebarth, Aus der Antiken Schule, Nr. 17 b, wo der Schüler ausführlicher als in dem Leidener Text geschrieben hat: **Ἀυρήλιος Θεόδωρος Ἀνουβίωνος Ἐγραφή Μαξιμιανοῦ Καيسάρων τῶν ἐπάρχων.**

Wenn das 1. Tafelchen tatsächlich von einer anderen Hand geschrieben wurde, enthält es die Vorschrift des Lehrers; der hat dann auch oben den Namen des Schülers geschrieben. Für eine Vorschrift des Lehrers und für die mehrfache

Wiederholung des Pensums vom Schüler finden wir Beispiele bei Ziebarth, o.c., Nr. 11-13.

Es ist mir nicht gelungen den Spruch zu bestimmen; die Worte können nicht metrisch geordnet werden, es muss also Prosa sein. Aber ein solches Prosa-zitat ist mir nicht bekannt. Es kann selbstverständlich ein vom Lehrer ersonnener Spruch sein, vielleicht in Zusammenhang mit einer Begebenheit im Kreis der Schüler.

Wir kennen dagegen manche Sprüche, welche hervorheben, dass die Nähe der Freunde für die Dauer und für die Stärke der Freundschaft wesentlich ist. So kennen wir: **τηλοῦ φίλοι ναίοντες οὐκ εἰσιν φίλοι** (Athenaeus, Deipnosophistai V 187 A) und **πολλὰς δὲ φιλίας ἀπροσηγορία διέλυσε** (Arist. EN VIII 6). So auch der lateinische Spruch: **Non sunt amici qui degunt procul** (Servilius, S. 19⁷).

Betrachten wir jetzt die Übungen auf der einen Seite des 4. Tafelchen. Der Text lautet folgendermassen:

NI	ΛΑΜ	ΜΩΝ	μαμ μζσμ
NE	ME	ΕΑΣ	αμμ ζσμ
NOY	NE	XIS	μβπ μζσπ
NEE	TO	PIE	βμπ ζσπ
NO	MIS	MA	μγρχμητκ
NI	KO	KAHE	γρχημητκ
NE	XA	Q	μητκ
			μθτε
			μδρεθμτε
			δμρεμιν
			μεσ μιν
			εμσ

.... Παχων ιδ

Wir finden hier also zwei Spalten; in der linken Spalte stehen 6 Eigennamen untereinander, mit dazwischen, als Fremdkörper, das Substantiv **νόμισμα**. Alle fangen mit N an, aber sonst sind sie nicht alphabetisch geordnet. Wir wissen aus vielen Beispielen (u.a. P. Bour. 1, Ziebarth, Nr. 2 und W. Clarijsse - A. Wouters, A Schoolboy's Exercise, Anc. Soc. 1 (1970), S. 201 - 235), dass bei den Schulübungen oft Eigennamen, manchmal mit demselben Buchstaben anfangend, geschrieben wurden. Der Name Nikokles begegnet auch in der Schreibübung in P. Bour. 1 (Z. 88); der Name Nunechios war uns aus den Papyri noch nicht bekannt; er kommt aber vor in Frgm. 16 des Petrus Patricius (Dindorf, Hist. Graec. min. I, S. 425). Es fällt auf dass Neilammon mit **ε** statt mit **ε** geschrieben wurde und dass Nunechis und Nestoris für Nunechios und Nestorius stehen (so auch **Νουμηνις** bei Clarijsse - Wouters, l.c., S. 156).

In der 2. Spalte folgt dann eine Multiplikation in 2 Spalten, und zwar die Vierzigerreihe vom Einmaleins. Solche Multiplikationen sind uns auch aus andren Schulübungen bekannt, z.B. S. B. III 6219 V, P. Soc. VIII 958 und Un livre d'écolier, Z. 216-225. Im Leidener Tafelchen wird die Multiplikation immer doppelt gegeben ($1 \times 40 = 40$ und $40 \times 1 = 40$ u.s.w.). Diese Methode ist uns bekannt aus W. E. Crum - H. I. Bell, Wadi Darga, Nr. 23, wo das Siebenmal-

sieben teilweise erhalten ist. Auffallend im Leidener Täfelchen ist, dass die Ziffern nicht voneinander getrennt sind, wie das bei den übrigen Multiplikationen fast immer vorkommt.

Am Ende steht, schräg geschrieben, das Datum: wahrscheinlich erst das Jahr und dann Παχών 16.

(Anmerkung: Zunächst hatte ich die Multiplikation als eine sehr raffiniert aufgesetzte Silbenübung betrachtet, aber Professor M. Manfredi hat mich darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass es sich um eine Multiplikation handelt).

Summary:

J.-D. Dubois:

"Coptic fragments of a homily"

This paper intends to examine some of the problems of unpublished British Museum documents which belong to a collection of "Papyrus Fragments" under the catalogue identification number Or. 6808. The Coptic fragments which concern us have been put together with some slight mistakes and classified as "Two fragments of homily?" (Or. 6808,5).

The poor condition of these fragments prevents us from producing a full transcription of the remains of the text. However a large part of the text, especially the recto, can be deciphered and reconstructed in order to identify some of the biblical quotations and allusions in these few lines. The recto alludes for example to the story of Jeremiah the prophet pulled out of the pit by Ebed Melech, the Ethiopian (Jeremiah XXXVIII), or to the measuring of the city of Jerusalem with a measuring line as recorded in the book of Zachariah (II.1ff.). The rest of the text evokes other biblical passages and particularly the wisdom literature of Solomon.

The text shows linguistic peculiarities and above all, a looking for the word NOY? rope or cord, also used in land measurement (cf. $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$). What is left of this sheet of papyrus consists of a collection of passages which contain this word NOY? . It seems as if it were part of a homily based on the explanation of this term.

A PANEGYRIST FROM PANOPOLIS

GERALD M. BROWNE

Papyri from Panopolis, the modern Achmim, used to be scarce.¹ But this situation no longer obtains, and we now have a considerable number of Panopolite texts, especially from the early Byzantine period. Most are documentary; one thinks immediately of the two long rolls from the collection of Sir Chester Beatty, which T.C. Skeat published in 1964 (P. Beatty Panop.), and of the 31 texts recently edited by Professor and Mrs. H.C. Youtie and Dr. D. Hagedorn (P. Köln Panop.: ZPE 7, 1971, 1-40; 8, 1971, 207-234; 10, 1973, 101-170); most of the latter are from the Cologne collection, some from the versos of the Beatty papyri which Skeat did not publish. Literary papyri are also known from Panopolis: besides Hyperides' In Athenogenem, we have fragments of Demosthenes, Euripides, Hesiod, and the Palantine Anthology, and Professor E.G. Turner has made a strong case for Panopolite origin of the Bodmer Codex of Menander.²

The University of Cologne possesses another collection of Panopolite papyri, which I hope to publish in the near future. These texts are documentary; the earliest was written in 281 AD, the latest in 348. They fall into two groups, one of which centers around Aurelia Senpasis and her husband Aurelius Petearbeschinis; it is mainly concerned with property belonging to Senpasis.³ The other group deals with Petearbeschinis' two sons, Aur. Ammon and Aur. Harpocraton. The papyri of this second group are of more than usual interest, as I hope to show.

These texts, four in number, document an inheritance case involving the slaves of Harpocraton, the deceased brother of Ammon. The latter describes himself as a scholasticus from Panopolis,⁴ and he is responsible for composing all four of the texts. The first of these (Köln inv. 4533r) is a draft of a petition to the hitherto-unattested catholicus, Flavius Sisinnius; it was drawn up on 10 December 348. The second was written on the same sheet as the first and is an extensive reworking of the same petition, with a large amount of new material. The third text (inv. 4532v) is yet another draft, bearing close resemblance to the second but differing from it in several places. It was composed on the verso of the fourth text, a contract which also concerns the slaves of Harpocraton.

It is the second of these documents, the draft petition, which provides us with the greatest amount of detail, but because of excessive abrasion and extensive lacunae, we can obtain only a general idea of its content. I here provide a brief summary.

Ammon is trying to obtain legal possession of some slaves formerly belonging to Harpocraton. The latter has died intestate, and a certain Eugenius from Alexandria has claimed that they belong to him. Eugenius is attempting to defraud Ammon and compels him to sail from Panopolis to Alexandria. Ammon expresses the hope of putting a quick end to the affair in a court of law, but his hopes are thwarted by delaying tactics

on the part of Eugenius. The papyri offer no clue as to how the affair was resolved.

Details of the case will be discussed in the introductions and commentaries to the individual documents. I shall here concentrate on one particular passage in the second text and on some of the problems which it generates.

Harpocraton, so Ammon writes, leaves his slaves in Alexandria and then proceeds to a sojourn abroad. This trip Ammon describes as follows (inv.4533v.23-27):

. . . ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ ἐκεῖνος γενόμενος καὶ ἀπὸ χώρας εἰς
χώραν) ἐκάστοτ(ε) μεταβαλ(ών)
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος) εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης εἰς Κωνσταντινόπολιν
καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλης εἰς ἄλλην τὰ πλεῖστα
σχεδ(όν) τῆς γῆς περιελθ(ών) μέρη⁵ τῶν καλλινίκων δεσπότων ἡμῶν τὰς
νίκας καὶ λόγους βασιλικούς πανταχ(ῆ)
.....[.]..... τὰ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπισημοῖς πόλ(εσι)
τῆς Ἑλλάδος) καὶ ἐπιτροπεύων) καὶ λογισ(τεύων) ἔπραξ(εν),
καὶ διὰ ταύτας)
τὰς ἀφορμ(ὰς) ἐπὶ πολ(ύ)ν τινα χρόν(ον) τὴν ἀποδ(ημίαν) ἐξέτ(εινεν).

". . . For when the latter (i.e. Harpocraton) was abroad and moved, on each occasion, from place to place, from Greece to Rome and from Rome to Constantinople and from one city to another, having gone around practically the greatest number of districts on earth ...⁶ everywhere the victories of our victorious masters and panegyrics⁷ ... For he managed the affairs in the illustrious cities of Greece both as procurator and as curator civitatis, and because of these occasions he protracted his stay for quite some time."

Ammon next describes his own impatience while waiting for his brother to return, but his further remarks need not concern us here; his account of Harpocraton's travel deserves close study.

We do not know precisely when Harpocraton left Egypt, but the reference to τῶν καλλινίκων δεσπότων ἡμῶν τὰς νίκας shows that it was sometime after 337, when, at the death of Constantine the Great, Constans, Constantius, and Constantine II succeeded to the throne. The petition, of which the aforementioned three drafts are preserved in the Cologne collection, was drawn up on 10 December 348 and provides a terminus ante quem for Harpocraton's ἀποδημία. If his sojourn took place after 340, the year in which Constans defeated and killed Constantine II, then it is likely that, like Libanius in Oration 59, Harpocraton spoke of Constantine the Great as having only two successors, Constans and Constantius.⁸

If the reference to τὰς νίκας is not simply pro forma, we may have an allusion to the numerous battles with the Persians, in a continuation of the war inherited from Constantine I.⁹ Our sources for the period in question are not very detailed, but we know of a war with the Frangi, defeated in 342 by Constans. Depending on the date of his travels, Harpocraton may have referred to this war in his panegyrics, and also to Constans' victory over Constantius in 340. The important battle of Singara

was fought in the summer of 348, and the alleged victory of the imperial house is duly praised by Libanius in Oration 59. Since the Cologne papyri were not written until December of that year, τὰς νίκας may include the battle of Singara as well.

Much of what I have said is speculative, since Ammon is vague about precisely what his brother did. The value of the Cologne documents as sources for military history is, therefore, practically nonexistent. But there are other kinds of history, and what makes Ammon's papers especially interesting is the fact that they provide first-hand documentation of a literary movement which until recently has received little attention from scholars. I refer to the activities of the so-called scholar-poets of the early Byzantine period, most of whom, like Harpocraton, came from Egypt. Claudian and Nonnus are of course well-known literary figures, but now, thanks to the important article of Alan Cameron, "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt," *Historia* 14, 1965, 470-509, we know that these writers were part of a large group of professionals, who journeyed from one part of the Empire to another, seeking patronage through panegyrics and often -- if successful -- obtaining the rewards of high public office.

Panopolis was especially famous as a center of Hellenic culture in this period, and it was the home of such poets as Nonnus, Cyrus, Triphiodorus and Pamprepus. Ammon, the writer of the Cologne papyri, came from Panopolis, and so also, in all probability, did his deceased brother Harpocraton. In the beginning of the second text Ammon refers to the class to which he belongs as οἱ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ λόγοις ἀνηγγιμένοι (inv. 4533v.9),¹⁰ and we learn from this same draft petition that he in fact numbered amongst his relations the otherwise-unattested poet Apollo (inv. 4533v.56f).

Ammon and Harpocraton were probably both pagans, as were most of the educated elite of Panopolis in this period, including, in all likelihood, Nonnus and Triphiodorus.¹¹ That a pagan should deliver eulogies on Christian emperors is certainly not surprising: we have similar compositions from Libanius and Themistius, the staunchest pagans of their age.

Ammon mentions that his brother travelled to Rome. Does this mean that, like Claudian of Alexandria, he wrote panegyrics in Latin? Cameron speculates that Eusebius, another Egyptian who sojourned in Rome, may have composed encomia in Latin.¹² Of course, we cannot be certain in cases in which we lack the literary remains, but the widespread Latinization of Egypt after Diocletian's reforms and the efflorescence of Roman studies there certainly favor the hypothesis that Harpocraton had acquired adequate skill to write in Latin.

The words ἐπιτροπεύων) καὶ λογισ(τεύων) in line 26, if correctly resolved, indicate that Harpocraton held high public office: he was one of the various types of procurator and also held the position of curator civitatis.¹³ It was common for exceptionally talented writers, who were successful in flattering the mighty, to be rewarded with positions in the civil service and the government. To restrict myself to

Panopolites: Cyrus reached the consulship in 441, thanks largely to his catching the favor of the empress-poet Eudocia; and Pamprepus was fortunate enough to win the favor of the dictator Illus and thereby was rewarded with the quaestorship of the Sacred Palace and became honorary consul in 479.¹⁴ It would seem that Harpocraton was likewise talented enough to rise to the positions of procurator and curator civitatis, thanks, in large measure, to the success of his panegyrics on the royal house.

We have no other explicit references to the Harpocraton of the Cologne papyri. Alas, he cannot be identified with his namesake who appears in the Epistulae of Libanius (Nos. 364, 368, 818). The latter was still alive in 358 to 363, the date of the correspondence, while our man died sometime before 10 December 348. The name is of course extremely common, and there is no evidence to connect him with any of the other Harpocratons.¹⁵

But despite the fact that he cannot be further identified, and despite the many problems concerning him which cannot be solved, the Harpocraton of the Cologne papyri clearly emerges as one of the typical literary figures of his day; "wandering from city to city throughout the Empire in search of fame and fortune,"¹⁶ he provides us with a unique opportunity of viewing an important literary movement from the perspective of documents. The Cologne papyri thus bring together the all-too-often separate worlds of documentary and literary papyrology, and I hope that their editing and publication will proceed swiftly.

1 Note the list in D.Hagedorn, "Papyri aus Panopolis in der Kölner Sammlung," Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology (Toronto 1970) 208 n.4.

2 Greek Papyri (Oxford 1968) 51-53.

3 Duke University possesses other papers from this same archive, as I learned from Professor William Willis during the 14th Congress at Oxford.

4 He is not mentioned by A.Claus in his Cologne dissertation, 'Ο Σχολαστικός (1965).

5 For help in deciphering the first part of this line I am grateful to Drs. D.Hagedorn and J.Rea.

6 In the lacuna at the beginning of line 26 there presumably stood a verb of sufficiently general nature to include both τὰς νίκας and λόγους βασιλικούς as its objects. Perhaps Ammon wrote ἐξέθετο ("he expounded", "he set fourth").

7 For βασιλικὸς λόγος in this sense cf. Menander Rhetor (Spengel III 368.3) ὁ βασιλικὸς λόγος ἐγκώμιον ἐστὶ βασιλέως.

8 H.F.Clinton, Fasti romani (Oxford 1845) I 415; the title of the oration is βασιλικὸς εἰς Κωνσταντῖον καὶ Κωνσταντα (Foerster IV p.208).

9 For the wars and battles mentioned in this paragraph see Clinton (above, n.8) I 396-414.

10 For the phrase cf. A.D.Nock, Sallustius (Cambridge 1926) xxvi.

11 Cameron 476.

12 Ibid. 496.

13 J.Lallemand, L'administration civile de l'Égypte, Mém.Acad. Roy.Belgique, ser.2, 57, 2, 1964, 90-92, 107-114.

14 Cameron 497-499.

15 RE VII 2, 2410-2417.

16 Cameron 471.

N.B. An expanded version of this paper will appear in Illinois Classical Studies 2, 1975.

British Museum Inv. 2506 24.0 x 22.7 cm. June 3, A.D. 211

This papyrus records the opening of the will of Lucius Ignatius Rufinus of the village of Philadelphia, the Arsinoite nome. At best, the provisions of this will are unclear. Two factors contribute to this: the poor Latin syntax of the scribe and the inability of the editors to read certain critical words. Among the syntactical problems are the following: 1.6, in infirmitatem; 1.8, partem dimidiam domum meam qui; 1.9, secundum antonium . . . veterani.

Rufinus names his brother heir ex asse, but then proceeds to leave specific legacies to others--a parcel of land and a half-interest in a house to a certain Lucretia Octavia who may or may not be his wife. Rufinus' wife is later mentioned (uxor), but she is not named.

Other problems are created by the inaccuracies of the scribe. In 1.15 the numeral of the regnal year should be xviii, not xviii; in 1.19 an unknown quintiano is found instead of gentiano, the otherwise attested consul of A.D. 211.

The biggest and most confusing puzzle concerning this papyrus is its purpose. There is at the top of the document letters which read exempl test. . . []. But what purpose does this copy of the will serve? It is perhaps possible that several copies were made at the same time and distributed among the witnesses and legatees with the hope of discouraging forgeries.

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L'étude du sens des mots et de leurs rapports, préalable à toute interprétation historique d'un document, se fonde nécessairement sur le contexte. Le papyrologue dispose à cet égard de sources privilégiées pour trois raisons: certaines offrent un contexte interne éclairant; d'autres, moins explicites, entrent dans des catégories dont le rapprochement suscite un type de contexte différent, de nature diplomatique; d'autres enfin constituent des archives officielles ou privées, notariales ou administratives. Et par le jeu de ces facteurs d'analyse, s'établit un réseau complexe de relations qui fait apparaître la signification précise des mots avec leur nuance.

En confrontant des registres cadastraux, des comptes agricoles et le dossier relatif au bordereau d'ensemencement,¹ on décèle parmi les qualificatifs du sol au III^e et au II^e siècles avant notre ère la distinction d'emploi entre les dérivés en -ἴτις et les composés en -τόπος. Les premiers désignent ce dont la terre se trouve effectivement porteuse, tandis que les seconds, plus nombreux, ont été annexés ou forgés par l'administration pour définir ce que la terre doit virtuellement produire en fonction de plans théoriques.

Mais de sérieuses difficultés d'utilisation sont soulevées par les documents fiscaux proprement dits, ceux qui, à l'exclusion de toute correspondance explicative, concernent le seul recouvrement de l'impôt: quittances sur papyrus ou sur ostraca, ordres de versement, reçus d'octroi, registres de perception, livres de sitologues, etc. Leur sécheresse de présentation ne laisse souvent place qu'à l'indispensable: noms du percepteur et du contribuable, date, lieu, impôt, montant. Ces données sont inestimables, en particulier pour les études économiques. Mais les autres termes, usuels ou techniques, prennent l'aspect de notions abstraites, dépourvues de vie et d'expression.

Que représentent exactement les φύλλα λευκά mentionnés dans deux reçus de douane?² Ou encore le mérismos τυλών de O.Tait II 546? Quant au composé κριθάχυρον,³ interprété par "mélange d'orge et de paille",⁴ il faut en demander le sens au P.Flor.III 377: le mot y recouvre d'une part des modii d'orge, d'autre part des centenaria de paille, ce qui en fait un substitut de κριθή και ἄχυρον à l'usage de l'administration annonaire.⁵

Il se pose donc un problème de méthode que l'on peut ainsi formuler: leur absence de qualité contextuelle doit-elle exclure les documents purement fiscaux de recherches concernant toute terminologie qui ne serait pas strictement fiscale?

Parmi les termes techniques auxquels ils font généralement appel figurent les catégories de terres, frappées par l'impôt foncier ou par l'impôt sur les récoltes; les produits, végétaux, animaux, objets de fabrication artisanale, qui sont prélevés, taxés ou réquisitionnés; les métiers, par le biais des taxes professionnelles ou de l'identité d'un contribuable.

Les exemples suivants schématisent des enquêtes sémantiques qui portent quelquefois sur plusieurs centaines d'attestations.

Il est instructif d'étudier la famille constituée sur ἄμπελος, terme générique de la vigne.⁶ Par une métonymie courante, le mot peut prendre le sens de vignoble, "lieu planté de vigne". Mais il a surtout prêté à une triple dérivation grâce à trois suffixes extrêmement productifs en grec:

1) le suffixe -ών, propre aux noms de lieux. Ἀμπελών, qui appartient à la langue classique et hellénistique, est de loin le plus fréquemment employé dans des textes hautement officiels comme les prostigmata royaux ou les Revenue Laws aussi bien que dans les archives de Zénon ou les P.Petrie. Il a lui-même fourni un diminutif, ἀμπελωνίδιον.⁷

2) le suffixe -ίτις dont une des fonctions consiste à indiquer l'espèce que produit une terre.

3) le suffixe -ικός, l'adjectif ἀμπελικός étant le plus souvent lié à κτήμα et à χωρίον.

Viennent ensuite les composés ἀμπελοφόρος, ἀμπελοφόριμος et ἀμπελόφυτος.⁸

Les éléments de cette terminologie ne sont pas interchangeables, et ils illustrent très clairement la notion même de "champ sémantique" qui implique une parenté entre les mots

sans qu'ils se confondent ou qu'il y ait équivalence absolue. Κτήμα, puis à partir du IV^e siècle χωρίον,⁹ accompagnés ou non d'ἀμπελικόν, se rencontrent dans les actes de partage, plaintes, baux, quittances de loyer, contrats de travail, comptes agricoles. Mais ces expressions restent absolument étrangères aux bureaux et aux formulaires fiscaux. Là, en revanche, se dessinent très tôt deux spécialisations d'emploi: γῆ ἀμπελίτις et ἀμπελοφόρος dans les registres cadastraux,¹⁰ ἀμπελών dans les textes relatifs à la perception.¹¹ Puis, par suite d'abandons de la culture viticole pour une reconversion à la culture céréalière, γῆ ἀμπελίτις désigne la "terre à vigneensemencée en grain",¹² tandis qu'ἀμπελών reste le vignoble exploité comme tel et productif, soumis à l'impôt foncier et à l'impôt sur les récoltes.¹³

L'examen de παράδεισος n'est pas moins intéressant. Ce terme, qui adaptait au grec un nom avestique et n'y désignait que le "paradis perse",¹⁴ a pris au III^e siècle en Égypte un sens différent mais tout aussi précis. Il signifie "verger de rapport", un terrain dûment clos et irrigué, où l'on cultive en masse palmiers, figuiers, oliviers, grenadiers, etc.¹⁵ Il faisait l'objet de divers prélèvements, entre autres celui du "sixième des récoltes". Et si l'impulsion donnée par Ptolémée II à l'arboriculture fruitière a connu des déclin, elle n'en a pas moins partiellement survécu, comme en témoignent tant de textes d'époque romaine¹⁶ où παράδεισος représente la catégorie fiscale de la terre exploitée en verger et prend valeur de générique.¹⁷ Bien plus, au II^e siècle de notre ère s'introduit le latin pomarium/πωμάριον qui, dans un contexte social nettement plus aisé,¹⁸ recouvre à peu près la même réalité agricole¹⁹ et devait être assujéti aux mêmes impositions. Mais les registres ignorent résolument le second au profit du premier.

Le mot ἀκρόδρυα, avant tout classique et littéraire,²⁰ désigne chez les agronomes anciens et dans les papyrus une catégorie d'arbres fruitiers que l'on pourrait qualifier d'arbres de luxe.²¹ Ses attestations papyrologiques, assez peu nombreuses, nous viennent en majorité des reçus fiscaux par le biais de l'impôt appelé ἔκτη ἀκρόδρύων ou ἀκρόδρυα, institué sous Ptolémée Philadelphie et conservé dans la fiscalité du Haut-Empire.²²

La nécessité de garantir la parfaite qualité du grain, qu'il soit dû, livré, prêté ou remboursé, a suscité une clause traditionnelle dans les contrats qui comporte une série d'adjectifs précis.²³ Mais les reçus, les listes et

les livres de sitologues n'utilisent que καθαρός, qui implique tous les autres, ou son antonyme βυπαρός²⁴ qui, avant d'entrer dans la terminologie monétaire, a appartenu dès l'époque lagide au vocabulaire fiscal des rentrées en nature. Cette situation a persisté, même lorsque s'est développé au VI^e siècle l'usage de καλός et d'εὐάρεστος dans les contrats privés.²⁵

Au niveau des prestations, il est habituellement fait appel au seul χόρτος, qui a pourtant fourni un nombre considérable de composés connus par les papyrus.

Le nom de l'orge enfin reste inchangé du III^e siècle avant au VIII^e siècle après J.-C., et le dérivé χριθάριον, bien que lié à l'espèce végétale, représentait une quantité de grain déposée dans une resserre ou un grenier.²⁶ Pourtant tardivement, à Nessana comme à Oxyrhynchos, nous savons que ce mot a désigné l'orge²⁷ (grec moderne χριθάρη). Mais on n'en trouve pas trace dans les reçus et les ordres de réquisition du VI^e au VIII^e siècle, qui s'en tiennent à la forme millénaire de χριθή.

Rassemblons nos observations:

- En dépit des changements, des emprunts ou des évolutions que montrent d'autres types de sources, la diplomatique fiscale reste attachée aux mots techniques traditionnels.
- Elle s'abstient le plus souvent de recourir aux composés.
- Par souci de précision, elle a dès l'origine rejeté la synonymie et volontiers adopté le terme le plus classique.
- Certains mots enfin, à cause de leur spécialisation même, semblent figés, réservés au jargon des percepteurs.²⁸

Ces remarques ne s'appliquent évidemment en aucun cas au vocabulaire de "l'administration fiscale" qui, par contraste, évolue en fonction des modifications successives du système d'imposition, et qui mériterait de ce point de vue une étude d'ensemble.

Peut-être convient-il de faire la part d'éventuelles divergences selon le style propre des bureaux, et surtout, de vérifier l'analyse en dehors du secteur agricole. Mais notons que, voulant élucider les problèmes de l'institution pagarchique, M.Gascou a refusé d'attribuer à μέρος le sens insolite de "district" proposé par Germaine Rouillard, et qu'il a retenu l'acception ancienne de "part" ou "quote-part".²⁹ Ou encore la suggestion de Mme Wipszycka à propos de la κοπή τριχός, impôt sur le feutre³⁰ (fabriqué avec du poil animal dont le nom bien classique est θρίξ), va dans le sens des réflexions suscitées par les termes agricoles.

Ce conservatisme, ou cette tendance archaïsante des documents fiscaux en matière de terminologie technique, ne saurait nous étonner puisqu'ils n'étaient pas sentis comme des instruments de communication et ne servaient pas de véhicule à la langue.³¹

Encore faut-il en être conscient. On doit, et souvent avec profit, s'adresser à ces textes difficiles parce qu'ils peuvent jouer en quelque sorte le rôle de "témoins" et de repères dans la singulière aventure que constitue l'histoire des mots.

NB. Cette communication, dont les lignes directrices sont ici présentées, paraîtra sous une forme plus développée dans le J.J.P.

1. Par ex. P.Mich.Zen. 31, P.Col.Zen. II 78 et surtout SB I 4369, conservé à la Bibliothèque Bodléenne, et republié par P.Vidal-Naquet dans Le bordereau d'ensemencement dans l'Egypte ptolémaïque (Bruxelles, 1967), pp.25-36.
2. P.Berl.Inv. 13305 (publié dans J.J.P. XVI-XVII, 1971, p.134) et SB IV 7365 (= P.Wisc. 16).
3. Voir P.Herm.Rees 39 et 79.
4. WB I, s.v.; P.Herm.Rees p.79.
5. Comme σιτόκριθος et οινόκριθον; voir H.Cadell. Le renouvellement du vocabulaire au IV^e siècle de notre ère (dans Akten XIII Intern.Pap.Kongr., München, 1974), p.65.
6. Il peut s'accompagner d'un adjectif géographique ou d'un adjectif formé sur le nom de la vigne grimpanche.
7. P.Cairo Zen. III 59309 et P.S.I. IV 375.
8. Les deux derniers sont très tardifs (VI^e S.).
9. P.Strasb. IV 555, de 289P, en donne dans ce sens une des premières attestations datées.
10. P.Tebt. I 82, 83, etc.
11. P.Rev. coll.36-37; P.Cairo Zen. III 59366, etc.
12. P.Ryl. II 202; P.S.I. XIV 1407, et en général S.L.Wallace, Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian, p.14.
13. P.S.I. I 82; P.Tebt. II 357; B.G.U. IX 1896, etc.
14. Cf. Xénophon, Anab. I,2,7-8; 4,10; II,4,14; Hell. IV,1,14, etc.
15. Voir par ex. P.Cairo Zen. I 59033; B.G.U. VII 1503; P.Mich. III 182, 193.
16. Tels que ceux des B.G.U. IX ou des P.Col. V.
17. On note l'absence des substantifs composés dans lesquels il entre comme second terme et qui nous sont connus par les contrats.

18. Cf. SB VI 9105; P.S.I. XIII 1328.
19. P.Oxy. IV 707; P.Flor. I 50; P.Hamb. I 23. L'équivalence des deux termes est en outre confirmée par le Corpus glossariorum latinorum (II,153,6; 394,32; III,27,16; 300,3).
20. Voir les références dans le dictionnaire de Liddell-Scott-Jones.
21. Théophraste, Hist.Plant. II,5,7; P.Oxy. XIV 1631; P.Iand. VII 142.
22. Voir C.Préaux, Chr. d'Ég. XXVIII, 1953, p.117, et S.L.Wallace, Taxation, p.375.
23. Voir en dernier lieu Chr. d'Ég. XLVIII, 1973, p. 331.
24. P.Ryl. II 72 (99/98).
25. P.Oxy. XVI 2017; P.Hamb. I 68; P.Ross.-Georg. V 31; SB VI 9051, etc.
26. Par ex. B.G.U. I 48.
27. P.Colt III 89; P.Oxy. XVI 1862.
28. Cf. πύλη pour la douane ou τιμή pour l'adaeratio.
29. Byzantion XLII, 1972, p.64.
30. J.J.P. XVI-XVII, 1971, p.122.
31. A propos des ostraca, voir les remarques de Mlle C.Préaux dans son article Du "Linéaire B" créto-mycénien aux ostraca grecs d'Égypte (dans Chr. d'Ég. XXXIV, 1959, pp.79-85), p.83.

SU ALCUNI PAPIRI "PLATONICI"

Antonio Carlini, Pisa

Il titolo di questa comunicazione richiede almeno due precisazioni: 'papiri platonici' non sta per 'papiri di Platone', ma per 'papiri in relazione con Platone'; ancora, l'attributo 'platonici' va chiuso fra virgolette, perché per uno dei papiri che saranno 'qui esaminati è già stata posta in discussione, per un altro può essere posta in discussione una relazione primaria con Platone.

Nel 1901, il Wilcken pubblicava il testo di tre frammenti papiracei, attualmente conservati nella Handschriftenabteilung della Staatsbibliothek di Monaco (Inv.93; Pack² 2560), attribuibili per ragioni paleografiche alla II^a metà del sec.III a.C.⁽¹⁾ L'aspetto esteriore del frammento maggiore (a) ha suggerito al Wilcken la congettura che questo papiro fosse stato utilizzato, con altri pezzi incollati insieme, come suola di un calzare.⁽²⁾ La scrittura non è affatto svanita; il testo non ha sofferto perché è stato "calpestato", ma perché è stato tagliato a misura del piede. Non problemi di lettura quindi, ma di interpretazione del contenuto, legati allo stato frammentario.

Nell'impiego ripetuto degli aggettivi ἀνώλεθρος e ἀθάνατος chiaramente riferiti a ψυχή, nella formulazione stessa delle argomentazioni (fr.a col.I,rr.7-9: ἡ ψυχή ἐπειδὴ | [ἀθάνα]τόν ἐστι καὶ ἀ[νώλεθ]ρ[ο]ν ὡς εἶη), il Wilcken ha visto un riferimento al Fedone (106 b,c,e). A giudizio dello studioso tedesco, il papiro di Monaco conserva resti di un'opera autonoma, nata in ambiente accademico (piuttosto antico-accademico che medio-accademico), la quale "im engen Anschluss an Platon Gedanken aus dem Phaidon breit behandelt". Che la struttura di quest'opera fosse dialogica sembra risultare da molti indizi concorrenti: l'imperativo ἰδὲ (fr.a col. I, r.4), le paragraphoi ravvicinate (fr.a col.II, rr.5 e 6), gli spazi bianchi che indicano forte pausa (fr.a col.I, r.4) o isolano apparentemente una battuta (fr.a col.I, rr.9 e 11), la formula interrogativa ἄρα γ[ε] (fr.a col.I, r.11).

Per G.Coppola, non ci sarebbero ostacoli decisivi ad intendere P.Mon.93 come resto di un Commentario al Fedone, anzi, più precisamente di un Commentario scritto nella χώρα egizia, testimonianza preziosa del metodo esegetico degli Alessandrini⁽³⁾. Anche se si trascura la difficoltà cronologica (Diogene Laerzio ci informa di un interesse di Aristofane di Bisanzio per il testo di Platone, ma controversa è la testimonianza relativa ad una sua ἔκδοσις dei dialoghi divisa in trilogie⁽⁴⁾), se si trascura la difficoltà contenutistica (si tratterebbe, se mai, di commento filosofico, non grammaticale), resta la difficoltà della struttura dialogica. Alla fine del r.4 della col.I del fr.a non c'è alcuna traccia dell'α che dovrebbe secon-

do il Coppola trasformare ἰδὲ in ἰδέα (ἰδέα τῆς ζωῆς come in Platone, Phaed. 106 d τῆς ζωῆς εἶδος); inoltre, la concorrenza dei vari indizi già menzionati, i quali sono trascurati dal Coppola nelle integrazioni e nell'interpretazione⁽⁵⁾, obbliga, io credo, ad attestarci sulle posizioni del Wilcken.

Ogni tentativo di identificazione dell'opera può dunque (e deve!) tener conto di questi quattro dati certi: 1) alta cronologia del papiro; 2) diffusione del testo filosofico nella regione del Fayyûm nella II^a metà del sec. III a.C.; 3) struttura dialogica; 4) richiamo a Platone nell'argomentazione sull'immortalità dell'anima. Sul fondamento di questi quattro dati è possibile proporre una identificazione del testo del papiro di Monaco con l'Eudemo di Aristotele? Diciamo subito che, dato lo stato frammentario dell'Eudemo da un lato, e l'esiguità della porzione di testo restituitaci dal papiro dall'altro, si può avere di mira solo il πιθανόν; come gli scettici della Media Accademia, converrà dunque in utramque partem dicere, già paghi se si riuscirà a mostrare che l'attribuzione all'Eudemo non è manifestamente infondata.

Nei suoi Prolegomena ad una nuova edizione dei frammenti dell'Eudemo (1960), il Gigon, persuaso che l'influenza esercitata sugli autori posteriori da quest'opera aristotelica sia maggiore di quel che non appaia dall'index fontium delle edizioni del Walzer e del Ross, suggerisce nuove direttrici di ricerca per il recupero di altri frammenti e testimonianze⁽⁶⁾. Alcuni primi risultati del lavoro di scavo del Gigon sono, io credo, acquisiti, ma resta sempre oscura l'articolazione interna dell'opera, resta difficile da ricostruire lo svolgimento della dimostrazione (o delle dimostrazioni) sull'immortalità dell'anima, resta problematica la definizione del rapporto fra Eudemo e Fedone, cioè in ultima analisi la definizione (e i limiti) del "platonismo" dell'Aristotele giovanile.

Sappiamo con sicurezza da vari testimoni che nell'Eudemo come nel Fedone era confutata la dottrina dell'"anima armonia"⁽⁷⁾. Si sarebbe tentati, in via ipotetica, di porre in relazione con questa confutazione la porzione di testo conservata nel papiro di Monaco. Ma la sezione corrispondente del Fedone non offre alcun preciso parallelo; i passi 106 b, c, e, già richiamati, di questo dialogo, che hanno indotto il Wilcken a collegare il testo del papiro con Platone si trovano in altro contesto (argomento dei contrari). Secondo me, per aprire una via verso l'Aristotele delle opere dialogiche si può cercare anche altrove in Platone. La famosa dimostrazione dell'immortalità dell'anima contenuta nel Fedro (245 c ss.) offre qualche spunto di confronto. Questa dimostrazione, come è noto, è fondata sul perenne movimento dell'anima (ἀεικίνητος) che ha in sé stessa e non fuori di sé la fonte e il principio di tale movimento vitale (πηγὴ καὶ ἀρχὴ κινήσεως); se infatti l'anima avesse παῦλαν κινήσεως avrebbe

παῦλαν ζωῆς. Ma un principio non è generato (ἀγέννητον) e se è ingenerato deve essere anche incorruttibile (ἀδιάφθορον), perché ove il principio si distruggesse, né esso rinascerebbe da altra cosa né sarebbe esso all'origine di altra cosa. L'anima che muove se stessa da sé sarà dunque ἀγέννητον e ἀθάνατον. Nel nostro papiro, in un luogo (fr. a col. I, rr. 3-4) l'anima è indicata, secondo la restituzione congetturale proposta dal Wilcken, come ἡ [ἀρχὴ] τῆς ζωῆς o ἡ [πηγὴ] τῆς ζωῆς. Costruire su un testo integrato congetturalmente è sempre rischioso, ma qui le possibilità di scelta non sono molte: si richiede una perifrasi indicante l'anima e sono conservati l'articolo femminile e il genitivo τῆς ζωῆς⁽⁸⁾. Senza problemi di ricostruzione invece l' ἀνώλεθρον e l' ἀθάνατον come predicati dell'anima (fr. a col. I, rr. 3, 10). Il richiamo al Fedro (ma la stessa concezione dell'anima che muove se stessa ritroviamo in Leggi 896 a ss.) può essere significativo in rapporto alla dottrina dell'Aristotele giovanile dell'anima ἐνδελέχεια (cioè dell'anima come perenne movimento), conosciuta soprattutto da brani famosi del I libro delle Tuscolane a lungo fraintesi⁽⁹⁾. Le testimonianze di Cicerone sono dagli editori di Aristotele riferite di solito al Περὶ φιλοσοφίας⁽¹⁰⁾, ma è interessante notare che il Mariotti con buoni argomenti le rivendicava all'Eudemo⁽¹¹⁾; anche il Gigon si chiede se non debba essere riferito all'Eudemo in particolare ciò che Cicerone dice in Tusc. I 66 (ma aveva già scritto negli stessi termini nella Consolatio) sull'anima perennemente viva (quod vivit quod viget...)⁽¹²⁾. Un influsso diretto dell'Eudemo (il cui carattere consolatorio è riconosciuto dagli interpreti) sulla Consolatio e sul I libro delle Tuscolane difficilmente può essere messo in dubbio⁽¹³⁾.

La struttura dialogica nel frammento di Monaco, con battute brevi e incalzanti, sembra di stampo platonico. Le testimonianze antiche concordano nel dire che Aristotele ha trasformato il dialogo platonico, abbandonando la caratterizzazione dei personaggi, l'interrogazione maieutica, la scherma drammatica; Aristotele ha fatto nascere un dialogo che era discussione scientifica fra vari interlocutori impegnati a dibattere da posizioni diverse determinati temi⁽¹⁴⁾. Ma questa trasformazione quando è avvenuta? Senza prendere qui posizione sull'interpretazione evolucionistica di Aristotele, ci si può riferire all'unico frammento dell'Eudemo che è riferito letteralmente (fr. 6 WR: Ps. Plut., Cons. ad Apoll. 115b)⁽¹⁵⁾: chiunque sia il personaggio qui apostrofato⁽¹⁶⁾, nello svolgimento della discussione si sorprende ancora la tecnica socratica della domanda e risposta.

Richiamo alla dimostrazione del Fedro e struttura dialogica sono dunque indizi (tenui) a favore dell'Aristotele essoterico. Le altre ipotesi di identificazione del papiro che si possono fare nell'ambito dell'Antica Accademia incontrano difficoltà obiettive o silenzio nella tradizione. Sappiamo che Senocrate definiva l'anima ἀριθμὸς αὐτὸν κινῶν, la considerava

immortale e incorruttibile⁽¹⁷⁾, ma la tradizione non attribuisce esplicitamente a Senocrate la produzione di dialoghi⁽¹⁸⁾ e le tre sole opere che presentano un titolo simile a quello dei dialoghi platonici⁽¹⁹⁾ sembrano aver avuto un contenuto diverso. Un'ampia produzione dialogica è assicurata invece per il predecessore di Senocrate Speusippo, assertore anch'egli dell'immortalità dell'anima (fr.55 Lang), autore fra l'altro di un περὶ ψυχῆς (D.L. IV 4-5). Sul contenuto preciso di questo scritto, sul rapporto con Platone e sulla sua fortuna in età ellenistica la tradizione è muta. Certo, proprio questo silenzio deve indurre alla cautela, se non all'ἐποχή.

In relazione con il Fedone si trova un altro papiro del sec. III a.C. il cui testo è stato presentato da Fr. Bilabel in occasione del V° Congresso di Papirologia di Oxford (Pack² 2561)⁽²⁰⁾. In questo frammento di cartonnage proveniente da Hibeh è contenuta una discussione critica della dottrina dell'"anima armonia". All'alta cronologia del papiro si unisce dunque come secondo elemento qualificante la discussione dottrinale di un tema che è specificamente assicurato all'Eudemo. La mancanza di indizi dialogici non sarebbe decisiva, perché potremmo trovarci all'interno di una ῥῆσις; imbarazza invece una citazione del Fedone (92e-93a) introdotta da φησιν . Aristotele nelle opere del corpus cita più volte Platone; Platone stesso nei suoi dialoghi drammatici cita Omero e i poeti, ma anche i filosofi dell'età precedente e li chiosa; nel nostro papiro però, la citazione del Fedone, inquadrata in una esegesi puntuale del testo platonico, è di tal natura da far pensare piuttosto a un Commentario perpetuo al Fedone che non a un'opera originale che elabori autonomamente o sottoponga ad analisi critica il pensiero filosofico di altri. Anche il Bilabel del resto, senza porsi il problema dell'Eudemo, aveva caratterizzato l'opera come Commento filosofico al Fedone. Nell'Antica Accademia più che nell'Accademia di mezzo si potrà cercare l'ambiente d'origine di questa esegesi platonica.

Problemi particolari pone P. Berol. 9766 (Pack² 1425), attribuito dagli editori al sec. I a.C., ma che va postdatato, come ora tutti sono d'accordo, al sec. III d.C.⁽²¹⁾: vi è contenuto un riassunto di Leggi 832c-837c. È stata avanzata da F. Della Corte l'ipotesi che questo papiro conservi parte dell'opera aristotelica perduta $\text{τὰ ἐκ τῶν Νόμων Πλάτωνος ἀβ'γ'}$, di cui abbiamo notizia da Diogene Laerzio (V 22) e da altri testimoni⁽²²⁾. A giudizio dello studioso italiano, il riassunto contenuto in P. Berol. 9766 che non tiene conto "né del costrutto platonico né dell'ordine progressivo dei capitoli" non può essere stato fatto sul testo delle Leggi a noi noto dalla tradizione medievale e che si fa risalire a Filippo d'Opunte, ma su un testo anteriore o in ogni caso indipendente da quello. Se così fosse, certamente sarebbe considerevole l'importanza del papiro anche per la storia più antica del testo platonico. Il mio parere su questo frammento è diverso: la

fitta trama di corrispondenze con il testo di Platone conosciuto dai codici medievali e l'assenza di vere varianti che non si spieghino con la volontà di condensare e di semplificare la dimostrazione rende scettici sulla possibilità di recuperare attraverso P. Berol. 9766 una diversa 'redazione' delle Leggi che sarebbe stata epitomata da Aristotele. Anche il tipo di riassunto rende perplessi: al r. 5 leggiamo $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$, al r. 9 πολεῖ , al r. 12 φησιν , al r. 18 βούλεται ; il soggetto sottinteso è chiaramente Platone. Ora, è difficile immaginare Aristotele che procede per tre libri in questo modo, puntellando continuamente il suo discorso con $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ φησιν . Può trattarsi allora di un riassunto di un numero limitato di capitoli delle Leggi, nato nella scuola o per la scuola? Sarebbe facile dar colpa delle omissioni, delle semplificazioni e di un certo disordine espositivo a uno scolaro poco diligente, ma la scrittura è una libreria accurata, senza incertezze. Se il testo era destinato ad un pubblico di lettori, dobbiamo chinarci di fronte alle insondabili motivazioni che hanno indotto un epitomatore (studioso o maestro di scuola) a registrare in un determinato ordine certe cose e non altre. E male per i lettori che non potevano o non volevano leggere il testo integrale di Platone. Già Quintiliano, del resto, deplorava (Inst. or. II 15, 24) che molti si accontentassero di leggere estratti del Gorgia invece del dialogo intero⁽²³⁾. E' dubbia l'identificazione del Μικρό-λοος , il cui nome compare verticalmente lungo la colonna con l'autore di questo riassunto delle Leggi⁽²⁴⁾; è da escludere invece, mi pare, l'identificazione della mano che ha vergato P. Berol. 9766 con quella che ha vergato P. Oxy. 23 (Pack² 1424: contiene Leggi 862d-863c nel testo a noi noto dalla tradizione)⁽²⁵⁾. Le due scritture sono indubbiamente simili, ma non si riconosce la stessa mano: alcune lettere come β υ hanno un ductus diverso e anche l'impostazione della colonna presenta differenze.

Questi tre papiri sono stati da me esaminati in margine ad una ricerca sulla tradizione antica del Fedone; solo in un secondo tempo ho considerato la possibilità di muovere alla ricerca dell'Aristotele perduto nei papiri. I risultati sono magri, ma forse valeva la pena, seguendo le orme del Gigon, affrontare il problema; altri potrà riprenderlo, con maggiore abilità e fortuna.

(1) U. Wilcken, "APF" 1 (1901), 475 ss.

(2) Il Wilcken richiama Herod. II 37, 3 (ὑποδήματα βύβλινα).

(3) "Aegyptus" 5 (1924), 221 ss.

(4) Cfr. A. Carlini, Studi sulla tradizione antica e medievale del Fedone, Roma 1973, 17 ss.

(5) Nell'ipotesi di ricostruzione del Coppola, p. es. non si giustificerebbe lo spazio bianco fra ζωνης e ιδε[α] (fr. a, col. I, r. 4), né quello dopo αν ειη (fr. a, col. I, r. 9).

(6) O.Gigon, Prolegomena to an Edition of the Eudemus, in Aristotle and Plato in the Mid-fourth Century, Göteborg 1960, 19 ss.

(7) Cfr. H.B.Gottschalk, "Phronesis" 16 (1971), 179 ss.

(8) Un'integrazione η | [λδεα] της ζωης sarebbe conciliabile con la tesi interpretativa qui espressa.

(9) Cfr. E.Bignone, L'Aristotele perduto e la formazione filosofica di Epicuro, I, Firenze 1936 (rist.1973), 195 s. Bibliografia aggiornata su questo problema in A.H. Chroust, "New Scholasticism" 42(1968), 364 ss.

(10) Esame critico di questi frammenti in M.Untersteiner, Aristotele. Della filosofia, Roma 1963, 54 s. e 265 ss.

(11) "RFIC" 68 (1940), 179 ss.

(12) Prolegomena cit., 23. Cfr. anche D.A.Rees, Theories of the Soul in the early Aristotle, in Aristotle and Plato in the Mid-Fourth Century, Göteborg 1960, 194.

(13) O.Gigon, "Hermes" 87 (1959), 154.

(14) Cfr. R.Hirzel, Der Dialog. Ein literarhistorischer Versuch, I, Leipzig 1895, 285 ss.; W.Jaeger, Aristoteles, Berlin 1955², 27 ss.; I.Düring, Aristoteles, Heidelberg 1966, 554 ss.

(15) Si può respingere la testimonianza di Ps.Plutarco (βέλτιον δ' αὐτὰς τὰς τοῦ φιλοσόφου λέξεις παραθέσθαι) solo dubitando della sua buona fede.

(16) Cfr. O.Gigon, Prolegomena cit., 25 s.

(17) Frr.60; 74-75 Heinze.

(18) D.L. IV 11 parla di συγγράμματα καὶ ἔπη καὶ παραινέσεις.

(19) Cfr. H.Dörrie, Xenokrates, PW RE IX A2, col.1515.

(20) Fr.Bilabel, Neue literarische Funde in der Heidelberger Papyrus-sammlung, Actes du V^e Congrès International de Papyrologie - Oxford 30 Août-3 Septembre 1937, Bruxelles 1938, 78 s.

(21) Editio princeps: Diels-Schubart, BKT II, 53 s. Cfr. Seider, Paläographie, Abb.33, Taf.XVI.

(22) "RFIC" 64 (1936), 404 ss. (= Opuscula I, Genova 1971, 214 ss.).

(23) Cfr. A. Carlini, Studi cit., 73.

(24) Cfr. Fr.Blass, "APF" 3 (1906), 496. I primi editori pensavano a una nota d'archivio.

(25) Questa identificazione, proposta dalla Corte (art.cit., 404) su indicazione dello Schubart, è stata ripresa dal Seider.

Proposte metodologiche per una nuova raccolta di facsimili di manoscritti greci letterari

di

Guglielmo Cavallo e Manfredo Manfredi Plates XII-XIV

La raccolta di facsimili di manoscritti greci letterari (secoli IV a.C. - VII d.C.), che l'Istituto 'G.Vitelli' sta curando, si propone innanzi tutto di fornire uno strumento di esercizio per la valutazione tecnico-libreraria e critico-testuale dei manoscritti stessi, ma non soltanto questo: l'esame di ciascun manufatto scritto, invero, ha altresì l'intento di ricostruire, per quanto possibile, l'ambiente dal quale un certo testo è stato prodotto e la funzione che vi ha svolto. Ed è anche con tale intento quindi che il materiale è stato esaminato sotto ogni aspetto, paleografico, papirologico, filologico, nella convinzione che i diversi piani di indagine sono tutti e nella stessa misura necessari quando si debba affrontare qualsiasi studio di un prodotto scritto dell'antichità. Ad esemplificazione del metodo seguito si presenta uno specimen: il PSI I 10 (Pack² 833), frammenti di un codice di papiro recanti versi da Iliade Θ, Λ, Μ e Ν. Tale scelta è dovuta a molteplici motivi: a) l'interesse paleografico rilevante del pezzo; b) il trattarsi di un codice papiraceo dell'Iliade d'età bizantina; c) l'avere un recente seminario dell'Istituto 'G.Vitelli' messo in luce vari spunti di 'papirologia omerica'.

I primi dati di PSI 10 da rilevare e trattare sono quelli grafici; ed a tal proposito v'è da fare una premessa di carattere più generale: ci sembra che finora negli studi di paleografia greca non sia stato preso in considerazione abbastanza il fatto, fondamentale, che ogni scrittura (come del resto ogni prodotto scritto) è in un preciso rapporto di funzione con l'ambiente sociale che ne ha determinato l'insorgere e detenuto l'uso¹. In questa prospettiva gli aspetti tecnici di ciascun fenomeno scrittoria costituiscono soltanto il punto di partenza ai fini di un'indagine più ampia, potendo le stesse risultanze dell'esame tecnico essere interpretate alla luce del ruolo e della funzione che un certo ambiente attribuisce alla scrittura in generale o ad un determinato tipo grafico in particolare.

Il PSI 10 (tav. XI) forse più di altri pezzi tradisce nelle forme grafiche lo stretto rapporto con l'ambiente che l'ha prodotto. La scrittura del papiro omerico, infatti, è una scrittura greco-latina, e più latina che greca; se si cercano confronti,

essi possono trovarsi - non a caso - nella scrittura di testi giuridici, greci e soprattutto latini: ed invero nell'Oriente greco, al pari della lingua latina ch'è lingua del diritto, di stato, del potere (a detta di Temistio e Libanio²), anche la scrittura latina, dall'epoca del basso impero, è scrittura del diritto, di stato, del potere. In Oriente dunque, a partire dalla fine del IV secolo, nell'ambito della produzione di libri giuridici, insorge una $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\eta$ scrittoria greco-latina: poiché il libro di diritto è sostanzialmente libro latino, anche i testi giuridici scritti in greco acquistano movenze e forme grafiche latine. E' merito di Elias Avery Lowe l'aver individuato una onciale latina tutta particolare (quella che lo stesso Lowe chiama 'onciale B-R'³), riservata pressoché esclusivamente ai testi giuridici (e che perciò può forse indicarsi anche con il nome di 'onciale giuridica') e caratterizzata da certe influenze greche; ma il Lowe, in quanto meno interessato alle scritture greche, ha tralasciato poi di notare quanto certa maiuscola greca di testi di diritto è stata a sua volta influenzata dalla 'onciale giuridica', nonché, pure, dalla minuscola latina, anch'essa adoperata per scrivere testi giurisprudenziali (esempio classico può essere considerato il frammento di Leida delle Sententiae di Paolo, CLA X 1577, Pack² 2956).

Ad uso dei testi giuridici, quindi, venne a formarsi una $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\eta$ scrittoria greco-latina. E di tale $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\eta$ è espressione la scrittura di PSI 10 dell'Iliade: l'andamento generale delle forme, la caratteristica delle aste incurvantisi in basso verso destra, soprattutto il chiaroscuro, sono quelli della onciale latina 'giuridica'; e meramente latine risultano singole lettere, quali beta formato da una b minuscola con l'aggiunta di un apice fungente da tratto ricurvo superiore, delta costituito da una d semionciale, pi a forma di n minuscola. Un pezzo di utile confronto paleografico per il papiro omerico è il PSI XIII 1348 (Pack² 2982) recante una raccolta di definizioni e massime giuridiche in greco (ma qualche volta il raccoglitore ha riportato anche il testo latino): si possono osservare (tav. XIII) le aste incurvantisi in basso verso destra, il chiaroscuro obliquo, le forme latine adoperate per il tracciato di beta e di delta. La stessa scrittura si ritrova in PSI inv. CNR 132 (inedito) e in P. Berol. inv. 11866 AB (Pack² 2277) recanti l'uno e l'altro il commento in greco a passi di diritto romano. Sia i papiri giuridici di Firenze sia quello

di Berlino furono prodotti con ogni probabilità alla fine del V secolo o all'inizio del VI. Ed ancora un altro confronto, il più autorevole, viene in considerazione: il codice Laurenziano delle Pandette (CLA III 295); nelle parti scritte in greco (tav. XIV) s'incontra lo stesso chiaroscuro delle parti latine (e della scrittura del nostro pezzo omerico), la stessa incurvatura delle aste in basso verso destra, ed inoltre il beta costituito dal segno di b minuscola con l'aggiunta di un apice e il pi di forma simile ad una n; quanto al delta, almeno negli indici si presenta in veste latina, d, ma risulta di forma greca nel testo. Ed anche sotto il profilo codicologico il nostro papiro trova confronto in certi manoscritti giuridici (pur se non soltanto in questi): il formato di PSI 10, cm 25 di larghezza per 33,5/34 di altezza con campo di scrittura di cm 19/20 per 23 ca. (gruppo 2 Turner⁴), è pressoché lo stesso di codici quali il già citato PSI 1348 recante massime giuridiche o il latino P. Ryl. III 479 (CLA Suppl. 1723, Pack² 2967) del Digesto scritto in 'onciale giuridica'. Analogie con tali pezzi si possono indicare anche nel rapporto tra altezza della scrittura e distanza tra le righe nonché nel numero delle righe stesse per ciascun foglio (una trentina nel papiro omerico, circa altrettante in PSI 1348 e P. Ryl. 479 stando alla ricostruzione che ne è stata fatta trattandosi di materiale frammentario).

Tutti tali confronti mostrano la prima metà del VI secolo quale datazione più probabile del nostro codice dell'Iliade. Quanto alla provenienza del manufatto la questione è più complessa: il Lowe ha localizzato a Costantinopoli il gruppo omogeneo di testi latini o greco-latini in 'onciale giuridica', tra i quali le stesse Pandette fiorentine, le cui caratteristiche grafiche sono strettamente analoghe a quelle del papiro omerico in esame; è dunque da porre la produzione di quest'ultimo a Costantinopoli? In mancanza di dati oggettivi, non si può dare una risposta di qualche plausibilità, tanto più che la stessa tesi del Lowe è stata messa in discussione ed è forse da ridimensionare. In ogni caso i confronti grafici e codicologici istituibili ed istituiti con testi giuridici mostrano che è negli ambienti di studio e di esercizio del diritto che l'omerico PSI 10 è stato prodotto; ed infatti le espressioni della $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\eta$ scrittoria e libraria greco-latina si presentano di regola limitate ai soli testi giuridici, almeno nell'ambito dei testi greci. Il fatto di incontrarne il manifestarsi in un co-

dice dell'Iliade mi pare significativa.

Si sa che con il IV secolo in Oriente si ha sempre più bisogno di funzionari, ma la formazione tradizionale, quella retorico-letteraria è di contro sempre meno adatta: all'avvocato retore, educato secondo la scuola greca, si sostituisce l'avvocato giurista, educato al diritto e al latino, attratto dalla carriera amministrativa, trasformato via via in officialis superiore a disposizione di un qualche governante o funzionario al vertice, destinato a sua volta alle più alte cariche. Come è stato scritto "nous sommes au plus haut point de la crise, au moment où coexistent deux systèmes, l'un grec l'autre latin, qui s'offrent au choix des élites"⁶. Questo tuttavia è vero nel IV secolo, all'epoca di Libanio che si fa interprete della dicotomia tra quei due sistemi di formazione aventi a loro simbolo le due lingue (e le due scritture), la greca e la latina⁷; ma nel VI secolo, in età giustiniana, l'opposizione tra l'uomo educato al greco, alla tradizione retorico-letteraria, e quello educato al latino e al diritto è divenuta ormai sfumata e sfuggente: da una parte il latino si eleva a lingua di cultura⁸, dall'altra il greco si avvia ad assurgere a lingua di stato. L'uomo d'élite bizantino di quest'epoca è istruito negli studi di diritto non meno che in quelli retorico-letterari. Nel VI secolo la scrittura del diritto, di stato, del potere, la κοινὴ scrittoria è diventata strumento di questa nuova cultura; essa nelle sue espressioni greche e latine ha il compito di dare realtà grafica, oltre che ai testi giuridici, anche ad un libro omerico, il nostro PSI 10, e, da parte latina, ad un codice quale il Giovenale di Antinoe (CLA Suppl. 1710, Pack² 2925), vergato in 'onciale giuridica' nella stessa epoca. Alla κοινὴ scrittoria greco-latina era assegnata dunque la funzione di esprimere gli interessi non più soltanto giuridici ma anche letterari della classe dirigente, la quale ne deteneva l'uso.

* * *

Operando sia al recupero fisico del materiale papiraceo sullo scavo, sia al restauro, sia alle altre pratiche preliminari allo studio, ci si rende conto di quanto peso abbia la possibilità di riconoscere analiticamente nei componenti e di valutare poi globalmente e sinteticamente i brandelli d'informazione che raccogliamo in ciascuna delle singole fasi. Se i codici medievali, anche per i testi a più larga tradizione, si collocano quasi senza eccezione su un livello di formale equi-

valenza che non contraddice a ogni particolare valutazione ai fini della recensio e delle altre operazioni filologiche, il materiale manoscritto letterario proveniente da scavo non può essere uniforme, in quanto è una raccolta non selezionata di ciò che fu abbandonato per un'infinita varietà di motivi durante i secoli. Ne consegue che il papirologo deve rendere disponibili le informazioni significative per una più precisa valutazione del manufatto scrittorio. Nel 1912, quando Teresa Lodi⁹, una delle più intelligenti e preparate discepole del Vitelli, pubblicava questi frammenti omerici non era in dovere né in potere di sviluppare le notizie essenziali sulla provenienza del papiro e sulla congetturale datazione paleografica del libro.

I frammenti di PSI I 10 sono stati nuovamente restaurati, riletti e controllati particolareggiatamente come è possibile fare con un testo quale Omero. Per la precisione, i restauri sono stati due: il primo, effettuato qualche anno fa nella Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (dove è conservato il papiro) dal prof. Filippo Di Benedetto, ha condotto al recupero di alcuni 'particolari' rimasti a suo tempo inediti; l'altro, realizzato poi nell'Istituto 'Vitelli', ha mirato principalmente a una sistemazione dei frammenti capace di rispecchiare - per quanto è ancora possibile - l'effettivo stato di ciò che resta delle pagine del codice papiraceo. Tra l'altro, si sono così potute determinare con maggior precisione le dimensioni della pagina originale (vedi sopra). Il materiale è di qualità piuttosto fine, soprattutto se si tien conto dell'epoca tarda cui siamo indotti ad ascriverlo: la lavorazione è buona, anche se non perfetta, e - agli effetti grafici - in pratica mal si distinguono recto e verso. La provenienza indicata nell'ed.princ., Hermapolis, molto probabilmente significa che il reperto fu recuperato nello scavo di E.Breccia ad Ashmunein del 1908: informazione preziosa, anche questa, per un testo letterario.

PSI 10 contiene parti di versi da vari libri dell'Iliade. Tenendo conto delle rettifiche da apportare ai dati dell'ed.princ., oggi il quadro è il seguente: Fr. 1r @ 450-456, 1v @ 485-491; Fr. 2r A 578-581, 2v A 607-610; Fr. 3v A 611-614, 616-619, 4v A 626?-641 (mancava A 639, aggiunto poi nell'interlinea) (+ 645-647 ripetuti nel margine inferiore), 3r A 642-645, 647-650 (+ 648-649 ripetuti nel margine superiore), 4r A 659-672; Fr. 5v M 3-16 (+ 28 ripetuto nel margine superiore), 6v M 23-33 (mancava M 27, aggiunto poi nell'in-

terlinea), 5r M 34-47, 6r M 53-63; Fr. 6bis r M 68-73, 6 bis v M 100-105; Fr. 7v M 135-140, 7r M 165-170; Fr. 8v N 751-780, 8r N 786-813 (manca N 800).

Dallo stato di conservazione, che in qualche grado corrisponde allo stato di reperimento, si ricava che ad Ashmunein fu ritrovato (e forse fu a suo tempo 'gettato') un gruppo di fogli ormai squinternati che, piegati diagonalmente su se stessi, perdettero le parti più esposte superiormente e inferiormente e lungo i margini liberi. Sicché oggi PSI 10 presenta, ad eccezione di un foglio (che sarà stato quello più interno e protetto), grosse lacune in settori sovrapponibili dei fogli, in alto o in basso a seconda della posizione relativa. In base all'indicazione del numero di pagina in Fr. 3v, 3r, 5v, abbiamo presumibilmente resti delle pagine 115-116, 179-180, 181-182, 189-190, 191-192, 193-194 e 229-230. Questo significa che forse, sullo scavo, sono stati trascurati pezzi minori provenienti in parte da pagine intermedie¹⁰.

Come informava già l'ed.princ., esiste dunque una numerazione delle pagine apposta nel margine superiore di Fr. 3v, 3r, e 5v, ove sono leggibili rispettivamente i numeri $\rho\alpha$, $\rho\beta$, $\rho\phi$. Teresa Lodi aveva, di conseguenza, calcolato che il codice contenesse i libri III e seguenti dell'Iliade: la stessa cosa ripete Ohly¹¹, senza notizia di un fatto importante, che cioè la numerazione non solo è chiaramente tracciata con altro inchiostro, ma è di una mano (m^2) molto meno accurata e calligrafica di quella che ha scritto il testo. Sono grosse lettere chiuse sopra e sotto tra linee che (in due casi) sono state tracciate in due tempi, come se la prima parte della cifra fosse stata scritta un momento prima delle 'unità'. L'inchiostro è grigiastro, e non rossiccio come in tutto il testo. Riprenderemo l'argomento tra poco, dopo aver discusso di altri segni (o cifre) che compaiono nel margine inferiore di alcune pagine (non di Fr. 8v e r), e che hanno attirato l'attenzione di Kurt Ohly. Anche per il nostro seminario, come per Ohly, era stato ovvio saggiare la possibilità di una lettura diversa da quella insoddisfacente data dall'ed.princ., e precisamente controllare se non fosse lambda il segno letto come delta dalla Lodi in Fr. 2r, 4v, 4r (ma seguito apparentemente da altri segni): diciamo subito che i risultati non sono stati risolutivi. L'analisi di Ohly aveva certamente tentato la via più ragionevole, e malvolentieri ce ne dobbia

mo discostare. Egli infatti intendeva tali 'segni' come cifre sticometriche, indicanti quanti versi comparivano in ciascuna pagina. Ma le sue considerazioni sulla numerazione delle pagine sono viziate da un'informazione imperfetta: Ohly non poteva sapere che le cifre sono state tracciate tutte in una maniera molto inadatta alla solenne apparenza complessiva del codice; e questo è per noi indizio di intervento seriore. D'altra parte, i segni nel margine superiore e quelli nel margine inferiore sono stati tracciati più o meno nello stesso tempo, con lo stesso inchiostro e, direi, dalla stessa mano (che però è stata molto più accurata nel margine superiore e nel tracciare la lettera K sul margine inferiore di Fr. 2v, che non nel resto). Ohly non poteva sapere che la numerazione delle pagine che ora si legge è una seconda numerazione, mentre quella originale risulta cancellata, dilavata. La prima numerazione si trovava, come spesso in questa epoca, sul margine superiore verso l'esterno della pagina; la nuova numerazione è invece collocata più o meno al centro del margine. Se ne deduce che il nostro codice, al tempo della seconda numerazione, era uno spezzone di uno splendido libro che, col passare degli anni, e con l'uso, aveva perduto alcuni quaderni iniziali, mentre qualche altro foglio sarà stato danneggiato; sicché chi si preoccupò di recuperarlo lo fece allo scopo di evitare una grossa spesa, utilizzando un codice bellissimo ma 'scompleto' dedicandogli qualche cura per riassetarlo alla meglio. Ne consegue che non si può adesso concordare con l'Ohly circa l'interpretazione più importante, quella storico-culturale, per cui egli scorgeva nel codice svariate tracce di un "literarisch gebildeter Emendator": si tratta invece di tracce di un più tardo lettore, solo limitatamente "literarisch gebildet". La nuova numerazione fu apposta per comodo. I segni sul margine inferiore (che quasi in ogni caso risultano ritoccati in modo da essere trasformati in disegni, diciamo così, esornativi), non costantemente presenti, non rispondono neppure all'interpretazione dell'Ohly. Il K di Fr. 2v non può essere integrato in K θ , come Ohly suggeriva, perché il papiro è qui ben conservato né reca tracce di altra lettera (e neppure delle linee sopra e sotto l'eventuale cifra ora caduta, che sono invece un uso coerente del nostro postillatore). Era certo una serie di segni meno importanti, che non rispettano neanche uniformità di modulo, se il K ha dimensioni assai supe-

riori alle altre lettere, Δ o Λ che siano. Anzi, se è Λ il segno di Fr. 4v, non ci sembra che lo sia (o meglio che lo fosse originariamente) quello di Fr. 4r. Si era pensato anche - con la Lodi - a 'segnature' di quaderni; ma neppure questa ipotesi è, ora come ora, verosimile ed accettabile¹².

Quanto alla struttura del codice (e alla disposizione reciproca dei recto e dei verso), ci pare che dalla successione delle pagine 179/180-181/182¹³ uguale a r/v-v/r, e ancor più da quella delle pagine 189/190-191/192-193/194 uguale a v/r-r/v-v/r, sia possibile dedurre che il codice era costituito da quaternioni in cui i fogli erano disposti in modo da avere il verso all'esterno e da presentare, a libro aperto, recto-recto, o rispettivamente verso-verso, nelle due pagine affiancate. In questo caso, il codice, rimasto mutilo, probabilmente si apriva con un quaternione (o con un bifoglio) e non con una 'carta', e l'incipit del III libro dell'Iliade poteva anche non corrispondere perfettamente con la prima pagina superstite. Ad es. la pagina 181 (ρπα) sarebbe stata dunque la pagina di centro, sulla destra, del quaternione 177-184¹⁴.

E' caso abbastanza frequente che il testo dei poemi omerici sia suddiviso in diversi tomi: ed è relativamente inconsueta la presenza di resti di pagine originarie da un unico tomo comprendente sia i primi canti dell'Iliade, sia il XIII. Spesso si può accertare che i tomi erano stati almeno 2 (cfr. PSI 1298¹⁵) o 3 (cfr. PMorgan, con i canti così distribuiti: I-X, XI-XVI, XVII-XXIV¹⁶) o 4 (lo stesso PMorgan, con i canti così distribuiti: I-V, VI-X, XI-XVI, XVII-XXIV¹⁷). Nel nostro caso c'è una qualche possibilità che l'ultimo foglio superstite provenga in realtà da un II tomo.

Altro fatto da porre in rilievo è che i versi ripetuti nei margini non sono stati scritti né dalla prima mano né dalla mano che ha apposto la numerazione. Molto diversa risulta così l'incidenza di questo elemento sulla storia del nostro codice, e - non sembri troppo strano - in generale sulla storia della cultura tarda in Egitto. Possiamo ora dire che chi ha utilizzato il codice ricomposto (il vero 'lettore') si è compiaciuto non solo di inserire versi tralasciati dallo scriba originale, ma anche di ricopiare sui margini versi già presenti nel libro, e questo senza introdurre varianti per noi palesi. Riassumendo, direi dunque che il libraio 'antiquario' ha provveduto a rinumerare le pagine, ha fatto altri segni sui margini inferiori di

alcuni fogli, forse allo scopo di riordinare quaderni sfascicolati, e ha rifatto la legatura. Il successivo proprietario-'lettore' lo ha poi utilizzato ai propri fini: non si può escludere che lo scopo della ricopiatura di alcuni versi nei margini fosse quello di disporre con maggiore immediatezza di un passo interessante, o quello di meglio fissarlo nella memoria. L'inchostro del 'lettore' (m³) è nuovamente di colore rossiccio¹⁸, e la scrittura ha caratteri veramente tardi (fine VI sec.-inizio VII)¹⁹.

Per la costituzione del testo omerico, PSI 10 è un testimone di scarso rilievo nel quadro generale della tradizione; ma, nell'ambito dell'analisi che stiamo conducendo, val la pena di soffermarci su una selezione della casistica dei dati filologici che ne ricaviamo.

Il tipo di scrittura adottato, la forma e le dimensioni stesse del codice ci suggeriscono un libro non destinato in origine alla lettura critica, bensì inteso ad una presentazione elegante, creato (o dobbiamo dire importato?) per quell'ambiente di amministratori e di giuristi che è ben noto per la zona di Hermupolis e di Antinoupolis in epoca bizantina.

Abbiamo detto sopra di tre versi omessi dall'amanuense: resta da precisare che non si tratta di luoghi sospetti nella tradizione, sicché le maggiori probabilità sono per l'omissione involontaria²⁰: tuttavia dagli scholia risulta che accanto a Α 639 doveva trovarsi un segno diacritico che può aver tratto in inganno qualche copista facendo pensare ad un'atetesi, davvero poco ragionevole. Dei tre versi, solo N 800 non risulta reintegrato successivamente nel testo, e sembra esser caduto per omeoteleuto.

Non mancano, sparsi qua e là, errori di grafia di varia origine: segnaliamo solo, a titolo di conferma dell'impressione generale sopra espressa, la lettura]KTHTI[per ἀέκητι a Fr. 5v (M 8) che difficilmente nasconde una variante, più o meno banale; επιc]XEIQ a Fr. 4r (Λ 668) che è dovuta al mancato completamento della lettera P; β]POOAOIQ a Fr. 8r (N 802) con omissione del T. Di diverso interesse sono forse il ΠPYMNHIYCIN a Fr. 8v (N 762) dove l'Υ è stato inserito per influsso del νηυειν che precede nel verso; l'ΑΠΑΛΛΩΝ e il ΘΕΙΝ⁷ a Fr. 6v (M 24 e 26), errori davvero banali corretti da m³; o l'ANOAEOPY a Fr. 8v (N 761) ove l'ο sovrapposto non è stato sufficiente a recuperare il corretto ἀνολέθρους. L'er

rore più curioso e significativo è forse τρ]ΕΛΛΙCΤΟC a Fr. 1v (Θ 488): hapax che l'amanuense non si dà cura di comprendere nella sua formazione (nonostante gli omerici ἄ-λλικτος, πολυ-λλικτος), non ignoto peraltro al suo contemporaneo Macedonio (AP V 270) che ne ricava un avverbio. Gli scholia vetera (II 380 Erbse) non commentano la forma, che sembra ovvia, ma solo il significato; mentre Aristonico (p. 150 Friedländer) spiega la diplè al verso ὅτι τὰ τρία ἐπὶ πλήθους.

Ci sono poi delle 'varianti' che tradiscono ancora la banalizzazione: ci limitiamo a tre esempi. Fr. 4v (Λ 629) κνα]ΝΟ ΠΕΖΟΝ per κνανόπεζαν, è presente anche in due codici del Ludw. (uno è il Paris. 2766 (Y^b) col quale il pap. ha altri punti di contatto) e in AP V 59 (Rufino), dove il Palat. 23 ha però la forma -πεζα. Cfr. anche χαλκπέζος in AP IX 140 (Claudio), dove il Palat. 23 ha ancora -πεζα! In età bizantina dunque l'aggettivo è di regola sentito a due terminazioni? A Fr. 4r (Λ 672) βοηλακ]ΗC: per il βοηλακ]η di alcuni codici, che è aristarcho. Hapax omerico, in AP VII 626 la parola ritorna (al plurale) con significato parzialmente modificato. D'altro canto, in Omero è normale ἀμφί col dativo (Chantraine, Synt., p. 87); è eccezionale (Π 825) ἀμφί col genitivo. Quindi βοηλακ]ης, che da ἀμφί è retto, viene scritto in molti codici come dativo plurale (βοηλακ]ης). Da notare che gli scholia vetera (III 256 Erbse) sottolineano espressamente l'adozione del singolare (ἐνικῶς) da parte di Aristarco. Infine, in Fr. 7v (M 139) ἸΑΑΜΕΝΟΝ è introdotto per scambio (contro la metrica) col nome del figlio di Ares che compare due volte, assieme al fratello Askalaphos, in precedenti libri dell'Iliade.

Vere varianti, di secondaria importanza, ricorrono in Fr. 1r (Θ 454), dove sembra di capire che due lezioni erano registrate nel testo una accanto all'altra (non possiamo escludere che la prima fosse stata espunta con segni posti al di sotto delle lettere e ormai scomparsi in una lacuna del papiro); in Fr. 2v (Λ 608) con ΤΩΜΩ (inteso in crasi, non essendo segnato l'apostrofo come nei codd. QYZ del Ludw.), e due versi sotto (Λ 610) con ΑΝΕΚΤΩC (se è una vera variante, come è probabile, attestata solamente dal Laur. 32,15); in Fr. 5v (M 4) dove CXH CEIN risulta da correzione (m³?), senza che sia possibile dire quale fosse la lezione precedente; in Fr. 6v (M 31) e Fr. 8r (N 813).

Un vezzo che PSI 10 condivide con altri papiri dell'epoca

è quello dell'uso improprio dell'apostrofo, che viene a separare sillabe omografe di vocaboli, come in ΕΝΘ'ΑΔ(Ε), o a segnalare un'elisione là dove questa non esiste, come in fine di ΑΥΤΑΡ. Più interessanti, in questo ambito, sono i segni marginali che compaiono a fianco di Λ 612 (Fr. 3v), Λ 643 (Fr. 3r), Λ 663 (Fr. 4r) e N 799 (Fr. 8r). Nel primo caso abbiamo la testimonianza di Aristonico (p. 199) che spiegava la presenza di una diplè con l'uso di un termine generico per lo specifico. Nel secondo e terzo, sul margine di PSI 10 c'è un segno diverso da quello precedente: nell'uno e nell'altro caso potrebbe in tal modo venir segnalata la ripresa di un'espressione formula-ricorrente all'interno dello stesso libro. Per N 799 non è più accertabile se si trattasse di un segno identico agli ultimi, o di una breve paragraphos (nel verso ricorre un hapax). Genericamente, l'uso di questi segni, più che a interessi critici, sembra riferibile a interessi retorici.

Non mancherebbero altri argomenti filologici, ma ci sembra di aver già protratto questa analisi esemplificativa. Col risultato, speriamo, di presentare un saggio dell'impostazione che riteniamo opportuno dare alla nostra raccolta di tavole paleografiche: ora attendiamo l'opinione e la collaborazione dei colleghi.

¹Il concetto di 'funzione' della scrittura è stato posto da A. Petrucci, Scrittura e libro nell'Italia altomedievale, in Studi medievali, 3^a ser., 10 (1969), pp. 157-159.

²Them., Orat. VI, 71c; Lib., Ep. 668.

³E.A. Lowe, Greek Symptoms in a Sixth-Century Manuscript of St. Augustine and in a Group of Latin Legal Manuscripts, in Didascalie. Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda, ed. by S. Prete, New York 1961, pp. 279-289 (rist. in E.A. Lowe, Palaeographical Papers 1907-1965, II, Oxford 1972, pp. 466-474).

⁴E.G. Turner, Some Questions about the Typology of the Codex, in Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses hrsg. v. E. Kiessling und H.A. Rupprecht, München 1974, p. 429.

⁵B. Hemmerdinger, Les lettres latines à Constantinople jusqu'à Justinien, in Byzantinische Forschungen, 1 (1966), p. 177 s.

⁶Sui rapporti tra cultura greca e cultura latina nell'Oriente della prima età bizantina si veda l'ottimo lavoro di G. Dagrón, Aux origines de la civilisation byzantine: langue de culture et langue d'Etat, in Revue historique, 241 (1969), pp. 23-56 (parole citate precisamente p. 40).

⁷Le testimonianze di Libanio sono raccolte e discusse da A.-J. Festugière, Antioche païenne et chrétienne. Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie, Paris 1959, p. 92.

⁸A. Momigliano, Gli Anicii e la storiografia latina del VI sec. d.C., in A. Momigliano, Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici, Roma 1960, pp. 240-242.

⁹Morta nel 1971. Vedi M. Manfredi, in Atene e Roma, 5^a ser., 17 (1972), pp. 47-48.

¹⁰La nuova trascrizione di tutto il papiro, ormai necessaria indipendentemente dalle presenti considerazioni, sarà pubblicata in Museum Philologum Londiniense corredata di note critiche complementari.

¹¹Stichometrische Untersuchungen, Leipzig 1928, p. 42.

¹²Cavallo aveva avanzato l'ipotesi che si potesse eventualmente trattare di indicazioni di segnature di tipo 'occidentale'.

¹³Che potrebbero aver fatto parte dello stesso foglio.

¹⁴Questo sistema di composizione dei fascicoli corrisponde bene all'eleganza formale della scrittura. Può avere qualche significato in merito alla questione della provenienza costantinopolitana?

¹⁵Nonostante W. Lameere, Aperçus de paléographie homérique, Paris-Bruxelles 1960, p. 172 s.

¹⁶Ed. Wilamowitz-Plaumann, in Sitzb. Ak. Wiss. Berlin, 53 (1912), pp. 1198-1219.

¹⁷Secondo una proposta di W. Lameere, op. cit., p. 171.

¹⁸Alcune lettere di M 28 (Fr. 5v) sono state ripassate, probabilmente con lo stesso inchiostro nero con cui è stato tracciato anche un accento su una parola di quel verso.

¹⁹Che i versi siano stati scritti dopo la numerazione è evidente dal modo in cui si interrompono nei punti del margine in cui compaiono le cifre (in inchiostro grigiastro).

²⁰Cfr. G. M. Bolling, The Latest Expansions of the Iliad, in AJP 37 (1916), pp. 21-22.

THE ODES OF EPAGATHUS THE CHORAL FLAUTIST:

SOME DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR DRAMATIC REPRESENTATION IN ROMAN EGYPT

Oxyrhynchus inv. 31.4B13/H(4-5)a 15.0x16.8cm First/Second Century

by W. E. H. Cockle

Plate XV

The text here presented is an unpublished document from Oxyrhynchus, belonging to the Egypt Exploration Society. It supplies evidence for some type of dramatic performance, whether of tragedy, comedy, mime or dithyramb, of works whose titles are familiar from the Classical period. This text is written in two columns in a cursive hand over a palimpsested document of the first or second century A.D. The washing and scraping-off of the original writing was very badly done, and the payment to Antonius in the lower left hand of the papyrus is a survival from the first text. Its traces still appear all over the surface and provide an additional hazard in reading, especially in the second column, which is singularly ill-written. This text appears by permission of the Egypt Exploration Society. It will be re-published in due course in The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

Column I

1	ὦ	επαγαθουτουχορ̄ μ̄	ὠιδ(αι) 'Επαγάθου τοῦ χορ(αύ)λ(ου) μ̄
2		δραματων 5	δραμάτων 5
3		υψιπυλης 5	'Υψιπύλης 5
4		δηϊδαμει ^a	Δηϊδαμεία(ς)
5		ανδρογῡ	'Ανδρογύν(ου)
6		λυεκτδ	Λύτ(ρων) 'Εκτορ(ος)
7		μηδειης	Μηδείης
8		αντιοπη̄	'Αντιόπης
9		εαυτου ωδαι μ̄	εαυτοῦ ὠιδαι μ̄

5 'Ανδρογύν(ου) vel 'Ανδρογύν(ων)

Column II

1	ωδαιφ[.]ειων[	ώιδαι φ[.]ειων[
2	β [	β [
3	ωδαικαγωπου β[	ώιδαι Καγώπου β[
4	ωδαιδρωτουτραδ[	ώιδαι δραματικαι) ωιδ(αι) του τρα(γωι)δ(ου)[
5	γ [	γ [
6	.....νοδιθ. τουτραδ[	.....νοδιθ. του τρα(γωι)δ(ου)[
7	ι [δ]	ι [
8	[[δ]] παφδ του χοραυ ζ[	Πα(μ)φύλ(ου) του χοραυλ(ου) ζ[
9	δ...[[.]] [ωνωδ [[δ]] [	δ... []ων ωιδαι [
10	δ [	δ [

3	καγωπου fortasse in καιν- ωπου correctum dispexit E.G. Turner	4	δραματικαι) articulavit O.M. Pearl
6	διθ dispexit E.G. Turner		
8	[[δ]] e scriptura inferiore παφδ i.e. Πα(μ)φύλ(ου) dispexit E.G. Turner		

Col.I 'Odes of Epagathus the choral-flautist, 40; from plays 6, from Hypsipyle 6, from Deidameia, from the Hermaphrodite, from the Ransoming of Hector, from Medea, from Antiope; — equals odes of his own (or "the master's") 40.'

Col.II 'Odes 2; — Odes of Canopus 2; — Dramatic odes, Odes of the tragic actor - 3; — of the tragic actor - total 10 (altered from "14"); — Of Pa(m)phyl(us) the choral flautist 6; odes [[4]]. 4 —.'

Col.I 1 δ = ωιδ(αι) is guaranteed by 1.9 below and is written in full in col.II ll.1,3 and 4.

χορ^λ: A part of χοραύλης seems to be the only way to resolve the contraction. The definition of Liddell and Scott is 'one who accompanies the chorus on the flute'. The word is written more extensively in col.II 1.8. Choraulai are attested in I.G. VII 1773 1.27 from Thespieae in the 2nd century A.D. and in C.I.G. 1719 (ll.2,4 and 5), and 1720 (ll.12,13 and 15) from Boiotian Thebes.

Their function is briefly discussed by G.M. Sifakis, Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama pp.78 and 121, who tentatively associates them with the performance of the dithyramb, but δραμάτων (1.2 infra) suggests some form of dramatic performance. Dr. E.J. Jory of the University of Western Australia has pointed out to me that in the Roman period the choraulēs gradually assumes a dramatic rôle. The clearest evidence of this is in Diomedes: Ars Grammatica III §491 1.29ff. in volume I of Keil: Grammatici Latini, where it says that in comedy 'Quando enim chorus canebat, choricis tibiis, id est choraulicis, artifex concinebat, in cantico autem pythaulicis responsabat.'⁽¹⁾

- 2 δραματων ζ The six titles follow, listed in the genitive, dependent on ωιδ(αι) in 1.1.
- 3 υπιπυλης ζ Presumably 6 odes.
- 7 μηδειης The hyper-Ionic form is somewhat unusual in a document of this period. It is perhaps influenced by epic or is the title of an epic recitation. The Attic form Μηδεια alternates with the Ionic Μηδείην in Ctesias of Cnidos, quoted from Cephalion, a contemporary of Hadrian, in the Chronographia of Georgius Syncellus §316,14 - §317,2.⁽²⁾ Herodotus uses the Ionic forms throughout. The alternation of the Ionic and Attic forms is discussed in A. Meineke: Analecta Alexandrina p.46, and C.A. Lobeck: Pathologiae Graeci Sermonis Elementa II p.14.

Col.II 1 φ[.]ειων A personal name in the genitive, perhaps written with contraction is probably expected here on the model of col.I 1.1, and of 1.3 below. Of phi there is an upper left hand curve and part of the vertical, but the vertical could be a cancelling stroke. Iota is the lower half of a vertical. The lower half of a second vertical follows. Possibly both may be combined as the lower half of a pi. I have not found a satisfactory name or word to fit here.

3 καγωπου Following the parallel of 'Εκαγώθου in col.I 1.1, καγωπου here is probably a personal name rather than the town 15 miles to the east of Alexandria, now called Aboukir, which

had a famous Serapeum. It stands at the Canopic mouth of the Nile and was reputedly named after the steersman of Menelaus, who was killed there by the bite of a snake. Strabo XVII 1,17 does however refer to the crowd of people from Alexandria who come down by canal to the public festivals. *πᾶσα γὰρ ἡμέρα καὶ πᾶσα νύξ πληθύνει τῶν [μὲν] ἐν τοῖς κλοταρίοις καταυλομένων καὶ κατορχουμένων μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀκολακίας, καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν.* Nor does it seem to be the star Canopus, which is a Carinae, the second brightest star in the sky.

4 ^δ ω Compare col.I l.1.

τουτραδ[As no Greek word is found beginning τραδ(), this must, I think, be resolved as τρα(γωι)δ(οῦ). The meaning is probably 'tragic actor' (L.S.J. s.v. II), the usual sense in the Roman period. This form of contraction by suspension is uncommon, but recurs in l.6 below. From the 4th century B.C., τραγιδός has the meaning of 'tragic actor' and is usually distinguished as the protagonist in old plays, whereas the protagonist in a new play is always called ὑποκριτής (Pickard-Cambridge: Festivals² p.129). By the 2nd century A.D. the supporting actors to a τραγιδός or κωμιδός were called ὑποκριταί.

6νοδῖθ. The first five letters survive only as damaged feet. In the damaged δῖθ the first three letters are very oddly formed. They appear to have the upper parts inclined to the left. The readings are those of Professor Turner. The left side of δ is vertical and χοθ is a possible reading. For a long time I took the upper half of θ to be a superlinear delta with its apex going through the bar between ll.5 and 6. The ductus litterarum is not against this.

9 ωδ[[δ]] ^α The delta and superscript α are written over the erased delta. The later is perhaps a numeral, which was re-written in the line below.

We have then in Column I an entry for 40 odes of Epagathus the choral-flute player from 6 plays. The first, Ψυπύλης is the title of a tragedy by Euripides, Aeschylus and Cleaenetus (Snell: Trag. Graec. Frag. 84 T4). Hypsipyle is the daughter of King Thoas of Lemnos and grand-daughter of Dionysus. After the slaughter of their husbands by the Lemnian women, she became queen and married Jason when the Argonauts called on the way to Colchis, as related in Apollonius Rhodius: Argonautica I 607-914. Her subsequent adventures in exile at Nemea in the Argolid in servitude as the nurse of Archemorus, the baby-son of the priest-king Lycurgus, are the subject of Euripides' play. Lucian: De Saltatione §45, discussing the themes of pantomime, says καὶ τὰ ἐν Νεμέαι δεῖ ἡ Ψυπύλη καὶ Ἀρχέμορος, ἀναγκαιότατα τῷ ὀρχηστῆι μνημονεύματα.

The second title, Δηΐδαμεία(ς), refers to the daughter of Lycomedes, King of Scyros, and mother of Neoptolemus by Achilles. This is not the title of a known tragedy or comedy, but Deidameia is probably a speaking part in Euripides' Scyrioi and possibly in Sophocles' Scyrioi.

However, in 1955, Professors Eitrem and Amundsen published in Symbolae Osloenses XXX pp.1-87 Oslo papyrus inv.1413A, written in a script dating c. A.D. 80- A.D. 120. This is an anapaestic narrative monologue, supplied with a musical score. It is probably of Hellenistic date, and perhaps from an anthology of dramatic scores. In it, a person of lower social standing describes to Deidameia an ἀνοδος of Achilles rising from the realm of Hades to frustrate a murderous attempt on the part of the Trojan women.

On pp.26-30 of their article, Professors Eitrem and Amundsen cite evidence for the Dionysiac Artists of the Roman period giving selected star-turns from famous plays. These are called ἐπιδείξεις or ἀπρούσεις. They also quote an inscription from the Isthmus of the 2nd century A.D., where the Milesians honour Gaius Aelius Themison, who has himself set to music, (μελοποιήσαντα is the word used), tragedies by Euripides and Sophocles and nomoi by Timotheus.⁽³⁾

This, perhaps, is the kind of interpretation to be given to ὠδαί in the present text. Though musical scores composed for the lyric passages of each play seem also possible.

The title in l.5 is ἀνδρογῦν = 'Ανδρογύν(ου) or 'Ανδρογύν(ων). 'Ανδρογύνος is the name of a New Comedy play by Menander, alternatively known as the Κρής. 'Ανδρογύναι is an Old Comedy play by Eupolis, otherwise known as the 'Ακτράτευτοι.

Line 6 has Λύτρων) Ἐκτορ(ος). The 'ransoming of Hector' from Book XXIV of the Iliad provides the alternative title to Aeschylus' Phrygians. An Ἐκτορος λύτρα is also attested for Dionysius in 368 B.C. (N². p.794).⁽⁴⁾

'Medea' is a tragic title for Euripides, Biotus (N². p.828), Carcinus (N². p.798), Dicaeogenes (N². p.775), Diogenes of Sinope (N². p.807), Neophron (N². p.729), Euripides minor (Suidas) and Theodorides (Snell: Trag. Graec. Frag. 78A). It is the title of an Old Comedy by Cantherus, Deinolochus and Epicharmus; Middle Comedies by Euboulus and Strattis, and a New Comedy by Antiphanes. Lucian of Samosata also gives the story of Medea as a theme for pantomime in the De Saltatione §40.

In l.8 comes the last title 'Αντιόπη. Antiope, daughter of Nycteus, was raped by Zeus disguised as a satyr, and was then married to Epopeus of Sicyon. Her uncle Lycus killed Epopeus and carried her into captivity. On the way back to Thebes she gave birth to twins at Eleutherae, who were exposed, but found by a neatherd. He named them Zethus and Amphion.

Subsequently the sons revenged their mother by killing Lycus and Dirce, who had imprisoned her. The myth provides the subject for the Farnese Bull, now in the Naples Museum.⁽⁵⁾ Euripides wrote a tragedy of this title, and a Middle Comedy by Euboulus is also so named.

The genre of the odes and the nature of the performance are uncertain. I suggested in discussing the Oslo papyrus with an anapaestic monologue addressing Deidameia, which has a musical score⁽⁶⁾, that starts by the Dionysiac Artists, known as ἐπιδείξαις, could be involved. A similar monody with musical score is Oxyrhynchus Papyrus XXVII 2436.

Professor Turner has suggested⁽⁷⁾ that the alphabetic notation for actors in Oxyrhynchus Papyrus XXVII 2458 of Euripides' Cresphontes, which was copied in the 3rd century A.D., may be an acting copy with excerpts for the stage. If the titles are taken to be those of five tragedies and one comedy, a number of between six and seven choral passages per play to make the total of forty would be reasonable. But if the genre is dithyramb or pantomime, some entirely different interpretation is possible.

In the late tragedy featuring Priam, Cassandra and Deiphobus published by Dr. R.A. Coles as Oxyrhynchus Papyrus XXXVI 2746, seven ὠδαί are marked in the text in the space of 33 lines in a single column. They would have to be very short, like the modern 'roll of drums off-stage' for the sense of the text not to be lost in performance.

The persons mentioned in this text, Epagathus the choraulēs, Canopus, the tragic actor whose name is damaged, and Pamphylus the choraulēs, cannot, I think, be identified with any certainty. If we consider this to be a list of rôles played or a list of musical scores, perhaps from a library, the artists may belong to a period before this document was penned.

The only Epagathus, whom I have found, who has stage connections, is Claudius Epagathus, who was a member of an embassy of Dionysiac Artists to the Emperor Claudius in A.D. 42. The grant of favours to the guild by Augustus, confirmed by Claudius, is cited in a document of admission of Herminus, a boxer from Hermopolis, P.Berol. IV 1074. Herminus was admitted to the guild of Athletes and Dionysiac Artists at Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 275.⁽⁸⁾

I have found no person called Canopus with stage connections in O'Connor's Prosopographia Histrionum Graecorum, nor in Iride Parenti's supplement.⁽⁹⁾

A Pamphilus is comic poet and victor at the Lenaia circa 235 B.C. in I.G. II 977 d col.iii l.6.

The name in col.II l.1 and the tragic actor in col.II l.6 remain unsolved.

Such, then, is this most tantalising text, which raises many questions. Perhaps the most certain result is to connect the playing of the choraulēs with δράματα.

NOTES

- (1) Diomedes: Ars Grammatica §492 ll.10-12 (Keil) = Suetonius: De Poetis Fr.3 §12 ll.6-8 (Reifferscheid).
- (2) Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae: Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus C.P. ex recensione Guilielmi Dindorfii. Vol.I. Bonnae MDCCCXXIX; = Cephalion: Μουσική apud Jacoby: Fr.Gr.Hist. Vol.2A.93.F.p.440, col.II l.22ff.; = Müller: Fr.Hist.Graec. Vol.III p.626; = Ctesias: Persica Fr.13 (Gilmore).
- (3) Art. cit. p.27; S.E.G. XI 52C; O.Bronneer: Hesperia 22 (1953) p.192; K.Latte: Eranos 52 (1954) p.125 sqq.
- (4) Cf. W.Bühler: Z.P.E. 11 (1973) pp.69-79
- (5) Naples Museum inv.6002.
- (6) P.Oslo inv. 1413 A.
- (7) L'Antiquité Classique XXXII (1963) pp.120-128.
- (8) Cf. the commentary of P.Viereck (the editor of the editio princeps. Aktenstücke zum griechischen-römischen Vereinwesen. Klio 8 (1908) pp.413-426.
- (9) J.B.O'Connor, Chapters in the history of actors and acting in Ancient Greece, together with a prosopographia histrionum Graecorum. diss. Chicago. 1908; Iride Parenti: Per una nuova edizione della 'Prosopographia Histrionum Graecorum', Dioniso XXXV (1961) pp.5-29.

SUMMARY

It used to be believed that the toparchy gave way to the pagus and the dekaprottoi to the praepositi pagi in the period A.D. 307-10. Subsequently it has been shown that there is strong evidence pointing to 302 as the year in which dekaprottoi disappeared. However, the question has been reopened recently with the suggestion that dekaprottoi survived until at least 304 or 306.

A re-examination of the relevant evidence, in particular P.Amh. 83, P.Lips. 84, O.Mich. 908, PSI 187 and O.Tait 2089, shows conclusively that dekaprottoi ceased to exist in Egypt in 302. The evidence of SB 9098 narrows down the date even further to between early May and early July 302.

Why should the disappearance be in this year and at this point in the year? Is there any connection with the fact that at a later period the indiction year in Egypt is known to have begun at precisely this time during the year? Note too that the fifteen-year indiction-cycle, which began in 312, was preceded by several five-year indiction- or epigraphe-cycles. If we suppose that these began at a date between late May and early July, we are able to re-date the epigraphe-cycle in such a way that the disappearance of the dekaprottoi coincides with the end of one of these cycles and the five-year cycles dovetail exactly with the later fifteen-year cycles.

J. David Thomas.

[A version of this paper will appear in the Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists.]

Sergio Daris

Tra i frammenti di papiri letterari dell' Università Cattolica di Milano, pubblicati di recente (1), mi pare che occupi un posto di rilievo lo scritto anonimo presentato con il titolo di Athenarum Encomium (2), titolo suggerito dai tratti essenziali del contenuto. L'interessamento al testo è giustificato dalla ricca problematica che esso propone e che trova il suo naturale centro nella identificazione dell'autore dell'opera. In occasione dell'editio princeps dei frammenti ritenni necessario mettere in evidenza le considerazioni che potevano accompagnare il testo stesso con oggettiva certezza e costituire, nel contempo, la struttura portante di ogni discorso successivo, al quale queste pagine mirano portare un contributo. Non è questa la sede per richiamare, nei particolari, le caratteristiche esterne dello scritto, per le quali rimandiamo alla prima edizione; sarà opportuno invece ribadire che il testo è distribuito su 6 frammenti, di aspetto diverso ma, con sicurezza, riconducibili ad una medesima opera, nella quale resta incerta la sede da essi occupata.

I passi, di ampiezza sufficiente a permettere annotazioni di carattere stilistico-lessicale, sono due; nell'uno (fr. 4) viene affermato il significato determinante della presenza di Temistocle nella lotta contro i barbari, sottolineato e tangibilmente riconosciuto dagli onori a lui concessi dagli Spartani stessi; nel secondo (fr. 5+6, col. III^a), è celebrato l'atteggiamento magnanimo degli Ateniesi, in occasione della contemporanea ambasceria di Alessandro Filelleno e degli Spartani. In entrambi i casi, appare chiara la sapiente articolazione del periodo, costruito a largo respiro; la ricerca dell'effetto raggiunge lo scopo con la collocazione chiasmatica dei vocaboli e l'armonia della frase è accentuata dalla tendenza alla eliminazione dello iato (3).

La sicurezza di scrittura e la padronanza dei mezzi tecnici del nostro autore traspaiono, in misura ancora più probante, dal personale ripensamento della fonte alla quale egli attinge. Il racconto erodoteo (4) che gli è di guida e che gli suggerisce i temi della riflessione, ha una risonanza speciale nella nuova pagina, strutturata in una diversa prospettiva. L'episodio di Temistocle tra gli Spartani volutamente è proposto ed introdotto con la cura richiesta da un avvenimento degno della massima considerazione, proprio per la sua eccezionalità; da notazione quasi cronistica di fatti conseguiti fatalmente alla guerra, assume i contorni di vicenda esemplare.

Le risposte ateniesi al messaggero dei Persiani ed agli ambasciatori di Sparta, sono giustapposte ed affrontate perchè abbiano in massimo grado la capacità di rievocare, nella sua pienezza, un momento non facilmente dimenticabile per dignità morale e ricchezza spirituale.

L'esame approfondito del linguaggio manifesta la sua intima aderenza agli usi lessicali della prosa d'arte attica, da Tucidide a Senofonte, da Platone agli oratori. Molta parte dei vocaboli, sia considerati isolatamente (5) sia in nessi di maggiore complessità, (6) si ritrova, con la stessa pregnanza, solamente negli scrittori attici del IV secolo. Anche nei passi dove più viva è la suggestione della parola erodotea, l'autore non dimentica di informare la propria dizione alla massima correttezza formale. Ne sono prova alcuni atteggiamenti che evidenziano lo scrupolo per una coerenza stilistica (7), la felice proprietà di impiego di vocaboli capaci di riassumere, con brevità efficace, frasi erodotee lunghe ed opache (8), la precisa collocazione nella propria sfera particolare di persone (9) e fatti.

La conclusione che discende dalla somma di tali rilievi non può essere che una sola: l'autore del testo su papiro mutua il proprio linguaggio e la propria educazione stilistica dalla cultura attica del IV secolo a.C., che egli mostra di vivere nella sua pienezza (10).

Strettissimo è il rapporto tra il nostro autore ed Erodoto.

Questa relazione è accertabile nei due frammenti maggiori, cioè ovunque il testo sia leggibile con una qualche continuità.

Nel frammento 4 il brano temistocleo, pur nel taglio che risponde ad una nuova logica narrativa, tradisce la propria dipendenza dalla fonte (11), dipendenza che diviene aderente fedeltà al modello nel frammento 5+6. Nello spazio compreso dalle quattro colonne, superstiti in varia misura, si sviluppa un tema narrativo che trova le proprie radici nel passo VIII, 140-IX, 9 delle Storie di Erodoto, più precisamente quello che prende l'avvio dalla ambasceria di Alessandro Filelleno e giunge sino alla mediazione del tegeate Chileos presso gli efori. La relazione tra i due brani non è solo di trasparente evidenza per la rarità degli avvenimenti narrati (12), ma anche per precise consonanze verbali. Così la frase erodotea $\delta\mu\alpha\iota\chi\mu\acute{\iota}\eta\nu\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ (VIII, 140 a 4) suggerisce il $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\omega\nu\ \text{'}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu\omega\nu\ \delta\mu\alpha\iota\chi\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ (fr. 5+6 II.

5 sgg.); l'espressione $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\ \rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\tau\omega\nu$ è corretta a $\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ (13); il concetto di indipendenza nell'uno e nell'altro testo è tecnicamente definito con il termine di $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (14).

A questi riscontri, assolutamente certi, si possono aggiungere alcuni altri, altamente probabili, ma conservati in condizioni lacunose nella quarta colonna (15).

La narrazione degli onori tributati dagli Spartani a Temistocle e della duplice ambasceria ad Atene, viene ripresa da Diodoro (XI, 27-28), a breve distanza. Il passo ripropone, nel proprio ritmo narrativo, contatti molto interessanti ed importanti con il nostro testo. Anche in Diodoro, come nel papiro, al discorso diretto di Erodoto è sostituita la forma del discorso indiretto, nella particolare prosa piana e contenuta dell'autore siculo, interessato allo sviluppo dei fatti. I contatti lessicali non mancano, ma, al di là dei singoli vocaboli (16), è soprattutto utile rilevare certe scelte stilistiche - che sembrano dettate dal modello - come nella frase, illuminante a tale proposito, che contiene la chiara risposta degli Ateniesi agli Spartani (17). In quella struttura stilistica diviene chiaro il superamento della espressione erodotea da una parte e la marcata consonanza con la dizione del nostro papiro dall'altra. Dopo questo passo, sarebbe inutile ricercare analogie perchè il papiro e Diodoro procedono lungo strade diverse, attratti da altri spunti espositivi.

Da un discorso come questo (e le osservazioni sono state contenute nei dati oggettivi), risulta innegabile nel nostro autore una familiarità ed un uso innegabile di Erodoto, assunto a metodo di lavoro. Del pari sarebbe difficile rifiutare, in modo categorico, la conoscenza di uno scritto come il nostro, da parte di Diodoro nel libro XI della sua Biblioteca. Due rilievi questi che incanalano le nostre indagini ed orientano l'attenzione quasi in una unica direttrice. E' un fatto ormai accertato ed universalmente condiviso dagli storici che fonte degli argomenti greci dei libri XI-XVI, 25 di Diodoro, sia esclusivamente Eforo (18) il quale, a sua volta, ha strutturato la propria opera sulle notizie di Erodoto (19). E' pure un dato assolutamente sicuro - in una biografia in gran parte evanescente - quello che conferma la formazione culturale e stilistica di Eforo alla scuola di Isocrate - indipendentemente dalla misura nella quale si voglia fissare la profondità di questo innegabile legame (20). Tre elementi dunque che emergono, anzi si impongono con sicuro risalto, dalla lettura dei frammenti papiracei con i quali, se l'ipotesi coglie nel segno, avremmo recuperato un brano perduto della storia di Eforo, per di più in pagine alle quali non sembra possibile negare un non comune decoro stilistico (21). Davanti alla convergenza di elementi che tutti sembrano condurre e confermare l'autorità dello storico di Kyme, è doveroso esaminare

se e di che peso siano le ragioni che potrebbero farci rifiutare una simile attribuzione.

Il centro dal quale si alimenta il pensiero del testo è la città di Atene, ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις, e, protagonisti delle nobili azioni narrate e depositari di ogni alta idealità, sono i suoi cittadini, celebrati come οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι o come οἱ ἡμέτεροι πατέρες; un simile stretto rapporto non può essere giustificato che sulle labbra di un loro discendente, un cittadino ateniese quale Eforo non fu. Cosa che apre la strada ad una doppia serie di ipotesi: o l'autore non è Eforo, o si tratta di un discorso attribuito da Eforo ad un oratore ateniese e pronunciato in una occasione posteriore alla battaglia di Platea. Che non lo si debba interpretare come un brano espositivo, mi pare che non ci sia ragione di dubitare; così sembra altrettanto ragionevole che non ci possano essere esitazioni sulla natura del discorso, per il quale restano validi i suggerimenti avanzati nell'editio princeps. L'esaltazione della città e la lode dei πρόγονοι, che impronta di un tono sinceramente patetico lo scritto, costituiscono un momento essenziale nello schema del λόγος ἐπιτάφιος. Nel caso specifico non si può evitare il confronto tra il nuovo passo ed il discorso di Lisia nel quale (per limitarci ai particolari più scoperti) le Termopili, Salamina, Platea (22) riprendono la loro dimensione di avvenimenti determinanti la storia della città.

La presenza di un discorso celebrativo trova collocazione naturale e completa giustificazione nell'opera di Eforo; si sa che è proprio Eforo a ricordare esplicitamente l'introduzione del λόγος ἐπιτάφιος in Atene, dopo la battaglia di Platea, con una precisa norma di legge che ne assegnava l'incarico ad uno tra gli oratori di maggior fama (23).

L'interpretazione dei frammenti in prospettiva non espositiva ma drammatica potrebbe creare le sole difficoltà per una attribuzione dei frammenti ad Eforo. Risulta sin troppo evidente che gli eventi rievocati nel discorso appartengono ad un tempo sentito come assai remoto da colui che parla e dal popolo che lo ascolta; sono fatti che trovano una esatta collocazione nella sfera celebrativa, ove tutto sfuma dalla storia alla leggenda che può essere utilmente richiamata per la realtà del presente. Quale appunto sia l'occasione che sollecita l'oratore a rievocare dalla lontananza dei tempi questo glorioso passato, sentito come eredità viva ed inalienabile della città di Atene, paradigma, in ogni circostanza, di virtù civili non è possibile dire. Fissare in quale parte della sua opera Eforo abbia inserito il discorso celebrativo, appare come un interrogativo destinato a rimanere, almeno per il momento, senza risposta.

Ma è chiaro che, alla luce del rapporto Eforo-Diodoro, si deve postulare un intervento di tecnica compositiva ad opera dello storico siculo; ciò non tanto per la discordanza di qualche particolare del racconto - nel quale però Diodoro discorda anche da Erodoto (24). Almeno per il caso in questione, bisogna attribuire a Diodoro (sempre che si ritenga di risentire, anche in questo caso, l'eco delle parole di Eforo) la trasposizione, indubbiamente coerente, per la quale elementi narrativi dispersi nella storia di Eforo, vengono ricollocati, nella nuova elaborazione storica, in una naturale sequenza cronologica (25).

Se non ammettessimo questa operazione diodorea vedremmo più facilmente dileguarsi i rapporti tra Diodoro ed il nostro autore e questo fatto ridurrebbe sensibilmente la credibilità di una attribuzione dei frammenti ad Eforo. Ed allora non resterebbe che ripiegare alla prima ipotesi, poco sopra prospettata, e negare con essa la paternità eforea del nuovo testo. Ma, in tale caso, il fantasma dello storico di Kyme non si dissolve nella inconsistenza di una ipotesi, senza lasciare quasi traccia: si profila dal testo dei frammenti l'ombra di uno scrittore che, come Eforo, ha in Erodoto un modello, che, come Eforo, non è sconosciuto a Diodoro, e che, come Eforo, subisce il condizionamento ideale e stilistico dell'ambiente isocrateo.

(1) S. DARIS, Papiri letterari dell'Università Cattolica di Milano in Aegyptus 52(1972) pp. 67-118.

(2) Ibidem, n. 10, pp. 99-113.

(3) Anche il segno nel fr. 5+6 III.21 va inteso come elisione; lo iato si ritrova solo nel fr. 1 I.21 e fr. 5+6 III.7 dopo una pausa.

(4) Herodot., VIII, 124, cfr. Plut., Them., 17.

(5) Fr. 4 II.11 cfr. Thuc., III, 82, 1; V, 20, 2; Plat., Phaedr. 257 E, Crit. 109 A, Leg. 676 C; fr. 4 II.20 cfr. Thuc. I, 74, 1.

(6) Fr. 4 II.13 cfr. Thuc., IV, 78, 5, Plat., Resp. 439 C; fr. 4 II.15 cfr. Demosth., de fal. leg. 303; fr. 4 II.23 cfr. P. Plat., Lys. 215 C, Xenoph., Symp., VIII, 34.

(7) Herodot., VIII, 140 b 3 corretto alla forma mediale in fr. 5+6 II.7 sgg.

(8) Fr. 5+6 III.11-14 cfr. Herodot., VIII, 144, 2.

(9) Fr. 5+6 III.18 sgg.

(10) Come si debba esattamente intendere l'influsso di Isocrate sul pensiero del suo tempo, è problema ben chiarito da S. MAZZARINO, Il pensiero storico classico, I, Bari, 1966, p. 391.

(11) Herodot., VIII, 124, 3.

- (12) L'ambasceria di Alessandro Filelleno torna in Aristodemo (F Gr Hist II, A, n. 104, fr. 1, 2, 2; cfr. P. Oxy. 2469=Pack 2 137); Chileos non compare altrove.
- (13) Vedi nota 7.
- (14) Herodot., VIII, 140 a 2; fr. 5+6 III.9 cfr. IV.11.
- (15) Alle righe 18, 21, 23,
- (16) Diod. XI, 28, 1.
- (17) Diod. XI, 28, 2.
- (18) Per Eforo v. JACOBY, F Gr Hist, II A, n. 70, pp. 37-109, II C pp. 22-103; G. L. BARBER, The historian Ephorus, Cambridge, 1935; cfr. SCHWARTZ in P. W., R. E. VI (1907) coll. 1-16, S. MAZZARINO, op. cit., p. 396 sgg.
- (19) Su questo rapporto v. JACOBY, op. cit., II C, p. 31 e M. GIGANTE, Frammenti sulla Pentecontaetia e altri testi storici da papiri, Napoli, 1970, pp. 35-36.
- (20) BARBER, op. cit., pp. 75-83.
- (21) La tradizione papiracea non è stata generosa con Eforo, per il quale v. Pack 2 357-8 ma anche GIGANTE, op. cit.
- (22) Lys., II, 27-47; Plat., Menex., 239 D-241 E, Demosth., LX, 6-11.
- (23) Diod. XI, 33, 3 cfr. Thuc., II, 35.1.
- (24) Diod. XI, 28, 1 - diversamente dal nostro e da Erodoto non nomina Alessandro Filelleno ma parla genericamente di ambasciatori.
- (25) Interventi personali di Diodoro sono postulati almeno per le parti siciliane della sua storia, cfr. MAZZARINO, op. cit., p. 397.

The New Comedy prologue of Pap. Argentero. Gr. 53 :

its interpretation and authorship

by Christina Dedoussi

The Greek Papyrus of the University of Strassburg No 53 was originally edited by G. Kaibel in 1899.¹ It consists of a single piece from a roll, containing on the outside 29 iambic trimeters written in a column, which is partly preserved. W. Croenert² dated it to the end of the 1st cent. A.D. and this date is accepted by general consent. E. G. Turner very kindly gave me his opinion about the date of this papyrus, which was examined by him in photographs of both sides. On the inside of this papyrus there is a text³, which, according to professor Turner, looks like a corn register, but it does not yield any sense. The date suggested by Turner is a later one : near the end of the 2nd cent.

This literary text has been identified as a New Comedy prologue written by an unknown poet of a "later" date, the word later being used vaguely with the meaning later than Menander. The scholars who have studied and edited⁴ this comic prologue, have given it an interpretation according to which it has been considered very important, because it has been used as evidence of the Greek origin of the Terentian prologue. At the time when this prologue appeared, two special characteristics of Latin comedy : the personified Prologus and the Prologus which contains literary criticism and personal attack, were posing the question : are these Latin innovations or are they of Greek origin? The Greek origin of the first characteristic was suggested and discussed; the Greek origin of the second was proposed on the basis of this prologue by R. Reitzenstein, who combined his interpretation with a theory of the evolution of the comic prologue.

The examination and study of this comic prologue in comparison with the other texts of New Comedy and the Latin comedies have given results, which disagree with the interpretation given to it by editors and scholars so far. My interpretation of this prologue and the study of the vocabulary and style of its text suggest some thoughts about its authorship and identification, which I present as possibilities only, based on certain observations.

The speaker of this prologue must be the god Dionysos⁵, who introduces himself to the spectators in v. 15, as the prologue gods in New Comedy always do; e.g. Pan in the Dysk. (10f) and Tyche in the Aspis (98,

147f)

Dionysos says in the first 15 lines:⁶ (I am not) a loquacious god, (so that there is no danger to you) listeners of falling asleep (as happens with other gods), who use abundant words, in order to give you all the possible details of the story of the play - what happened, how, and why. And it thus becomes necessary to them to narrate a long tedious story to people who lean on their elbows, expounding everything in detail, while I am sure, nobody understands a word of what they say. But myself I want you to be compelled to understand and to tell you something (worthy), by Zeus, of a god, I mean of a real god, because (you must) trust Dionysos, that is me.

In the following twelve lines (16-27) Dionysos gives a summary of events relevant to the story of this play: there were once upon a time two brothers, Sosthenes and Demeas. They married and used to live in (these two) adjacent houses. To one of the brothers a son was born, to the other a daughter. Afterwards they went abroad together to Asia, where their lives (were in danger). The one was sent to jail unjustly. The other tried to rescue him. Then the first escaped, but the second was accused of smuggling him out (and he was punished) for that. Their absence lasted sixteen years. Someone will now ask: why were both the brothers away from their home for so many years? What was the necessity? Here the text breaks off.

By general consent it is believed that this prologue is preserved almost in its entire form and that only a very brief answer to the questions is missing. Kaibel⁷ supposed an answer like "Plautus noluit," because the poet liked them to do so". But the "Plautus noluit" is found in the prologue of the *Casina* (65), which has clear signs of later composition, and anyway in the case of the *Casina* there is a personified Prologus, who does not finish his speech with the "Plautus noluit". On the contrary the Prologus goes to say (67f) : *sunt hic, inter se quos nunc credo dicere: "quaeso hercle, quid istuc est? serviles nuptiae?"* These questions can be taken as a parallel case to Dionysos' questions in our prologue. In the *Casina* the Prologus explains that marriages between slaves are possible in some countries, makes a joke (75-78) and returns to the narration of the story. Reitzenstein⁸ supposed that the questions in the last lines of our prologue were followed by an ending like "you will hear the answers from the play itself". He refers to the following two of the three existing typical endings of Latin prologues: Terence *Adelphi* (22-24) : *dehinc ne expectetis argumentum fabulae, senes qui primi venient i partem aperient, in agendo partem ostendent.* And Plautus *Vidul.* (10f) : *credo argumentum velle vos peroscere, intellegetis potius quid agant quando agant.* The third case of this typical ending is found in the *Trinummus* (16f): *sed de argumento ne expectetis fabulae; senes qui huc venient, ei rem vobis aperient.* I think that this typical ending could not have place at this point of our prologue, because the information given so far by Dionysos is insufficient. It is rather improbable to accept that the god informed the audience about the two brothers only and said nothing about their wives

and children, who live in the houses represented on the stage, the more so because they must be important persons in this comedy, especially their children. The sixteen years of their absence is indicative of one love story, at least, with the one brother's daughter involved. It is also almost impossible to suppose that anything else happened than that the two brothers on their return home met with family problems and difficulties. It is to be expected also that the prologue god will himself be involved in some way in the story of the comedy, at least this is always the case in the existing prologues and there is no reason to suppose, that the same does not apply to our prologue as well. Therefore one can not consider this prologue as almost complete; our text is a part only of a prologue, the important part of the introduction to the plot is missing.

It is notable that Dionysos needs 15 lines to say only that he himself is going to be brief, unlike the other inferior gods, who deliver lengthy introductory speeches. Evidently he is meant by the poet of this prologue to be funny by being himself talkative in describing what the inferior gods do. There is here the comic invention of a superior god making fun of the inferior gods. And the criticism against them can not be taken as the poet's serious opinion about how a good prologue must be composed, as it is commonly accepted. This conclusion is based on the following observations.

This prologue is similar to the other surviving prologues Greek and Latin. The long prologue exists together with the comic exploitation of loquacity. In Menander's *Fr.152* (*Epikleros*) the speaker of the prologue says that sleeplessness is the most garrulous thing, because it has sent him out of his house to narrate his whole life. Evidently this is an introduction to a very long narrative. In the long prologue of the *Mercator* Charinus criticizes the other lovers in comedies and asks the spectators to endure patiently his loquacity (v.37). In the *Menaechmi* the act of delivering a prologue is compared to the distribution of corn, so that a long prologue means a friendly attitude towards the audience and plenty of corn. On the contrary in the *Dyskolos* Pan ends the narrative by saying that he has given the *κεφάλαια* only of the story and that the spectators will learn the details from the play itself (45f). This is a kind of formula⁹, because the same lines are repeated at the end of the prologue of the *Sikyonioid* (23f). The last cases show the need of the speaker to be clear and brief. The identical endings of Latin prologues, which have already been mentioned (*Trinummus*, *Vidularia*, *Adelphi*) are a similar formula for cutting short and ending a prologue. In the *Trinummus* the goddess *Luxuria* after having given elementary information about the plot (v.4-6) ends her prologue well with this formula, which includes the announcement of the persons, who enter the stage. But in the case of the Prologus in the *Adelphi* the existence of this formula is surprising and out of place, because none of Terence's Prologi contains any argumentum.

It has been shown that the long prologue exists combining loquacity and its comic exploitation; there is also the tendency to give in the prologues only the indispensable information. The poet of our prologue follo-

wing the second line begins with a clever comic device - the derision of the garrulous gods in a garrulous way - which is combined with the *captatio benevolentiae*, because this god spares the spectators the tedium of a long speech. The poet's main concern here is the success of this particular play in the theatre and the prologue is a crucial point for making a good impression on the spectators. The success depended to a great extent on the comic invention and originality shown by the dramatist. One has to remember the surprises brought to us with every new text of Menander.¹⁰ Therefore the criticism against long prologues is not to be taken as the poet's serious opinion about the length of the comic prologue, and much less as an attack on other poets, who wrote long prologues. On the other hand it is rather absurd to suppose a poet restricting himself to only one form of prologue and renouncing the possibility of a choice from various forms and lengths, according to the needs of each particular play. My interpretation is supported by other cases of criticism found in comic texts. Similarly the criticism of the lovers in comedies, which is put in the mouth of the lover Charinus, in the prologue of the *Mercator*, is not a literary one. The poet does not give here his opinion about how lovers must expound their problems, and to whom. The criticism in the prologue of the *Captivi* (55-58) is a more striking case. The Prologus here says that the play they are going to perform is unusual, because there is no filthy language in it and the characters are respectable persons. This is not, of course, a literary opinion about the art of comedy, namely that only respectable characters must be represented on the comic stage. The poet here wants to ensure the success of this particular comedy by advertising it, and so exciting the interest of the spectators.

Our comic prologue does not in fact contain anything comparable to Terentian literary criticism and quarrels and it can not be taken as evidence of the Greek origin of the Terentian prologue. On the other hand no theory about the evolution of the prologue in New Comedy can be supported by the existing evidence, and consequently there is no way of arranging the existing types of prologue in chronological order. Reitzenstein's theory (loc. cit.) was that the long prologue spoken by a god comes first, the short one was invented later and was spoken by an actor in the name of the poet, and that in the final stage there was nothing in the prologue about the plot - the prologue became literary and personal, as it is in Terence. This is perhaps ingenious but without foundation. And since our fragmentary prologue is similar to the other existing prologues, its date of composition could well be the same, that is the time of Menander and his contemporary poets of New Comedy. Furthermore the examination of the vocabulary and style of this text gives results not only indicating this date, but also a possible Menandrian authorship.

The possibility of the Menandrian authorship was mentioned by the first editor (op. cit. p.554) of this prologue and was suggested by Demianczuk¹¹, but it has been rejected by all the other editors of this text, because they have accepted Reitzenstein's interpretation. Now the possibility of the Menandrian authorship is valid and supported by some relations and similarities concerning the vocabulary and style between this comic prologue and Menander's texts. Moreover the story in this prologue con-

tains an indication for specifying it. Two persons seem to play an important part in this story: the two children, who are now a young man and a young woman. These two cousins may be a clue for the identification of this comedy with Menander's *Anepsioi* (The cousins). As far as we know only Menander wrote a comedy with the title *Anepsioi*¹². There are five fragments from the *Anepsioi*; three gnomic quotations in Stobaios (Fr.53, 54, 57, Koerte II) and two quoted by Athenaios (Fr.55,56)¹³. Fragment 54 shows a relation to the story of our prologue: some one says in it, that a sensible son means happiness to his father; on the contrary a daughter is anyway a troublesome possession to her father. If the fathers on their arrival found themselves in trouble, the trouble was most likely caused by their children, the boy and the girl, to whom these gnomic verses can apply. The other two gnomic quotations can fit well in the story of our prologue, but they have a rather general application: in Fr. 53 we read that love is by nature deaf to advice and, that it is not easy to beat at the same time youth and the god of love by using reason. And in Fr.57 we read that the fields which feed men badly make them brave¹⁴.

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1. Ein Komödienprolog, NGG (1899) 549-555.
 2. APF I (1901) 515.
 3. Kaibel did not say anything about it.
 4. See C.Austin's last edition (CGF in papyris reperta n.252 p. 271).
 5. The name is conjectured from Ἰουῶν (v.15), but it is strongly supported by the relative cases in other comic prologues.
 6. I put in parentheses the minimum of the necessary additions to the existing fragmentary text.
 7. Loc. cit. p.554.
 8. Hermes 35 (1900) 625f.
 9. See Sandbach A Comment. to Menander p.143 (on Dysk.46).
 10. The existing obscure information about the prologues of Menander's *Thais* and *Messenia* (Fr.185 and 268, Koerte II) indicates that these prologues were unusual.
 11. Suppl.Com. p.17.
 12. The comedy *Anepsioi* is mentioned in the catalogue of Menander's selected plays of the Pap. Brit. Mus. 2562 (Koerte I p.150), and in the catalogue of Menander's plays in alphabetical order of the Pap.Oxy. 2462 (Austin CGF n.104). The title *Anepsioi* is found without any poet's name in the IG² 2323 (c.215-210 B.C.).
 13. They are unimportant.
 14. The full form of this paper will be published in the Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies.

University of Ioannina

Summary:

S.Kambitsis:

"Les papyrus carbonisés de Thmouis conservés à Paris"

Il s'agit de cent seize fragments collés sur des cartons numérotés, qui appartiennent à l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne (P.Reinach inv.2062, cartons 1 à 43), à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Objet 200, cartons 1 à 48) et à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (Suppl. Gr. 1374, cartons 44 à 50).

Ces papyrus proviennent des archives de Thmouis et datent de la seconde moitié du IIe siècle après J.-C. De caractère fiscal, ils portent sur le dégrèvement et sur la suspension de paiement de divers impôts et taxes. D'après l'écriture et le contenu, on peut les répartir en trois rouleaux, dont l'un est en grande partie reconstitué.

Ces documents enrichissent, et rendent souvent plus précises, nos connaissances sur l'ononastique, sur la géographie et sur l'administration du nome mendésien, - en même temps qu'ils révèlent certaines des causes du dépeuplement et de la misère qui ont sévi dans cette région sous Marc-Aurèle et Vêrus.

non S.k. en julkor 1979 - Sorbonne va. b. il s'agit pariti

LA LETTERATURA POPOLARE NEI PAPIRI

Dario Del Corno

Nella linearità della narrazione, nell'assenza di motivazioni psicologiche, nella piattezza stilistica dei frammenti delle 'Storie fenicie' di Lolliano, Albert Henrichs ha individuato i tratti di una 'Unterhaltungsliteratur' della qualità più corrente. Si ha l'impressione che il romanzo non esigesse dal lettore alcuna partecipazione intellettuale, offrendogli di contro gli stimoli epidermici di una comicità elementare e di una triviale sensualità (1); tanto che si può imputare il suo modesto livello artistico, oltre che alla pochezza dell'autore, anche alla destinazione stessa dell'opera: al tipo di fruizione e alla richiesta del pubblico, cui essa rispondeva.

Questa considerazione induce a chiedersi fino a che punto sia possibile riconoscere nell'antichità classica l'esistenza di una letteratura 'di consumo' o 'di evasione', che meno anacronisticamente potremmo definire anche 'popolare'. Si tratta di un territorio dai limiti sfuggenti e malcerti; e in questa schematica rassegna tenteremo di riconoscere alcuni aspetti in una serie di testi papiracei.

Per una tale indagine, in effetti, questi testi offrono una condizione privilegiata. E' vero che i papiri di solito tramandano letteratura d'arte o di cultura; e in tale caso la loro destinazione va identificata nell'uso della scuola, a vari livelli, oppure in un gusto e in un'erudizione già specializzati, anche se non sempre professionali. Ma appunto opere come le 'Storie fenicie' dimostrano pure l'abitudine a una lettura al di fuori di finalità culturali più o meno specifiche. Ora, scritti che nascono da una tale richiesta hanno in genere un'esistenza condizionata da un gusto e da una moda caratteristicamente legati all'attualità, che con il loro venire meno li condannano a rapida scomparsa. Sarà quindi affatto occasionale la sopravvivenza di questa letteratura nella tradizione medievale, filtrata attraverso una selezione che di tutt'altri valori teneva conto. Ad ogni vaglio che non sia quello della fortuità dei ritrovamenti sfuggono invece i testi papiracei; e ritrovando in essi quasi una dimensione di contemporaneità possiamo intravedere quali letture 'popolari' circolassero nell'Egitto dell'epoca, senz'altra prete-

sa che di dilettere o di interessare entro un ambito spazio-temporale, di cui la loro stessa natura impediva a queste opere di varcare i limiti.

Ad un esame del genere occorre però premettere qualche considerazione generale. In primo luogo, non è possibile una catalogazione delle opere che rientrano in questa letteratura: per ragioni di spazio (2), e soprattutto perché l'attribuzione ad essa comporta un margine di fluttuazione, in quanto non può fondarsi che parzialmente su criteri di tipo obiettivo, come quelli formali. Ciò introduce anche ad una più precisa definizione dell'oggetto della nostra ricerca, in quanto il concetto di 'letteratura popolare' è esposto a un'ambiguità. Esso può indicare tanto una letteratura nata dal popolo, quanto quella destinata a una diffusione popolare, in rapporto alle caratteristiche di consumatori non in possesso di una cultura specializzata: ad entrambe queste accezioni faremo riferimento, tenendo peraltro soprattutto di vista la seconda (3).

Ancora, dobbiamo motivare l'esclusione di certe categorie di scritti pure indubbiamente contigui al nostro tema: così i testi astrologici e magici, il cui stesso numero attesta un interesse di massa; un esteso settore di testi cristiani, evidentemente destinati a un'ampia propaganda; tutta una serie di prontuari a carattere divulgativo, come grammatiche elementari, tavole matematiche, lessici tecnici, manuali di culinaria, di sport e così via (4). Circoscriveremo dunque tutto questo materiale che verrà tralasciato, precisando che esso rispondeva a una finalità non primariamente letteraria.

Un ulteriore rilievo di carattere generale riguarda infine l'incidenza quantitativa di questi testi, che risulta innegabilmente scarsa rispetto ai papiri che tramandano letteratura 'colta'. Questo fatto - come s'è detto - non si può imputare a una selettività della trasmissione, e denuncia dunque una situazione complessiva, di cui possiamo tentare varie spiegazioni: ad esempio, che la lettura di svago fosse un fenomeno ancora circoscritto e non corrispondesse ai moduli secondo cui esso ricorre ai nostri tempi; inoltre che vi rientrasse pure la grande letteratura, almeno limitatamente ad alcuni autori - ciò che induce a ribadire la consapevolezza dei limiti d'approssimazione, entro cui si muove la nostra ricerca.

Un primo aspetto da considerare nella letteratura popolare conservata dai papiri riguarda le occasioni, i modi, i fini secondo cui il pubblico ne faceva uso. Il filone centrale è rappresentato da letture

che avvincevano narrando casi emozionanti e ricchi di immediate attrattive. Di questa produzione il romanzo di fantasia, ampiamente rappresentato nei papiri, è l'esponente tipico - a prescindere dai dislivelli qualitativi delle singole opere. Con esso hanno una sostanziale affinità di destinazione e di forma una serie di scritti che rappresentavano eventi e personaggi storici, o ritenuti tali, in una volgarizzazione romanzata. Alessandro ed Esopo sono i temi prediletti di questa letteratura nella tradizione papiracea, che conferma pure l'influsso fondamentale avuto dall'Egitto in tale evoluzione delle loro storie. Occasionalmente destinati a una lettura di svago (sebbene qui giocasse una parte preponderante l'uso scolastico) possiamo supporre che fossero anche testi variamente affini, come compendi volgarizzati di trattazioni storiche e mitiche, versioni in prosa di opere poetiche o teatrali, raccolte di aneddoti e di favole.

A un tempo simile e diversa era l'occasione di consumo dei canovacci per il teatro, che si conviene di definire mimi. Il loro carattere popolare, sia per la funzione che per la forma, è evidente; ma essi venivano diffusi in via mediata, attraverso la recitazione. In questa, comunque, largo spazio veniva lasciato all'improvvisazione; e ciò costituiva un punto d'incontro con il momento orale, che è proprio di ogni letteratura d'origine popolare.

Passiamo così a un gruppo di opere, per cui l'occasione dell'uso popolare è più strettamente legata alla loro stessa origine, caratterizzate come sono entrambe da un riflesso immediato dell'esistenza quotidiana. Il lavoro (come nei canti marineschi 1927 e 1929 P.), il ritrovo di società (ad esempio, nelle raccolte di skolia 1924 e 1617 P.) (5), le solennità pubbliche (come nella 'praelusio mimi' 1748 o nell'ostrakon 1934 P.) o private (l'epitalamio 1829 P.), la vita della scuola (1945 P.), il culto religioso riprodotto in inni e preghiere costituiscono insieme l'occasione di origine e di consumo di composizioni poetiche, che per entrambi gli aspetti si devono considerare popolari, anche se si svolgevano in un ambito circoscritto.

Infine, in un altro settore tipico di questa letteratura la finalità del consumo non si esauriva nel diletto della lettura. Il popolo vi trovava riflessa la sua doppia struttura culturale, egizia e greca. Così, l'invocazione a Isis (2477 P.) e l'encomio di Imouthes-Asclepio (2479 P.), la storia di Nectanebo (2476 P.) (6) e la leggenda di Tefnut (2618 P.) (7) diventano testimonio di fedeltà alle radici autctone della stirpe, e di resistenza etnica al prevalere della cultura greca. La medesima tendenza, che impronta pure le già citate rielabo-

razioni egizie delle storie di Alessandro e di Esopo, in ancora più esplicita maniera ispira il cosiddetto 'Oracolo del vasaio' (2486/7 P.) (8), e gli assicura diffusione e sopravvivenza. In tutti questi scritti all'intenzione letteraria si associa un contenuto ideologico, che li collega agli ambienti più attaccati alle genuine ragioni nazionali, meno contaminati dalla cultura ufficiale di stampo greco. Ad ulteriormente precisare il tipo di popolarità di queste opere vale pure il fatto che alcune sono traduzioni: ciò presuppone, allora come ai nostri giorni, un certo livello di divulgazione, la quale per di più avveniva in una sfera che, sebbene aperta a tali esigenze, aveva perso il contatto diretto con la lingua indigena, riservata a cerchie privilegiate.

Un altro aspetto rilevante di questa letteratura popolare è rappresentato dalla lingua e dallo stile. Trattandosi di opere di genere tanto diverso, occorre invero guardarsi dal generalizzare; ed i già ricordati caratteri formali delle 'Storie fenicie' escludono, ad esempio, un parallelo con la ricercatezza espressiva di altri romanzi. Ma, sebbene per quest'epoca non si possa parlare di due distinti strati linguistici, come ad esempio si manifesteranno nella letteratura bizantina, buona parte di questi testi palesa un tessuto linguistico che non si può certo imputare a letterati di professione: i suoi tratti distintivi sembrano essere la limitatezza del lessico e l'approssimazione delle strutture sintattiche, oltre che di quelle metriche nelle composizioni in versi (9). Altrettanto evidente è, in genere, la carenza di elaborazione stilistica: sono i fatti e i contenuti che contano e che trovano in sé la loro ragione d'essere, senza bisogno di decorazione formale, sì che l'espressione tende a essere la più diretta possibile. E' questo un carattere comune alla letteratura popolare, e che d'altronde smentisce una costante delle letterature classiche; ed è importante notarlo non solo per definire il livello culturale degli autori, quanto anche le richieste del pubblico, ben diverso da quello che si rivolgeva alla letteratura colta.

Pure collegati con le preferenze del pubblico sono alcuni grandi motivi di fondo, che ricorrono in questi testi al di là dei condizionamenti imposti dai singoli generi. Per grandi linee, essi si possono individuare nelle due tendenze contrapposte di un realismo spinto anche alle estreme conseguenze, e di un fantastico tinto di toni magici e soprannaturali (10). Ecco così comparire nell'uno o nell'altro di questi scritti l'amore nei suoi toni più carnali e nei più ossessivi invasamenti, il delitto, l'orgia, il lazzo osceno, insieme alla minuziosa descrizione di eventi (udienze regali, cerimonie religiose,

il lavoro, i viaggi, il decorso di una malattia), e di luoghi, di edifici, di oggetti. E d'altra parte sogni ammonitori o guaritori, apparizioni di morti, escursioni in un orrido oltretomba - come nella *Catabasi* 1923 P., che per certe particolarità formali si può fare rientrare in questa letteratura -: tutto l'armamentario soprannaturale di una narrativa popolare quale sotto altre latitudini vive, ad esempio, nella fiaba. Entrambi questi aspetti corrispondono alle esigenze di un pubblico, che amava trovare nelle sue letture la riproduzione delle proprie quotidiane esperienze, e però anche lo spunto per un'evasione da questa stessa realtà, in cui trovassero voce le credenze radicate nell'anima popolare. E sempre, o quasi, sullo sfondo è l'Egitto, con il suo passato e la nostalgica memoria di grandi personaggi, i suoi dèi, il suo paesaggio ambientale e umano, le difficoltà e le frustrazioni del presente: dalle quali nasce un'altra linea portante di questa letteratura, il rifugio nella fede religiosa, e soprattutto l'attesa di un futuro migliore, che si esprime nelle grandi visioni profetiche, ma pure - in una prospettiva più modesta e cronologicamente più immediata - negli encomi che salutano l'avvento di un nuovo imperatore, o anche di un nuovo funzionario locale.

Concludiamo questo ellittico e provvisorio panorama, chiedendoci quale sia per noi il significato di questa produzione letteraria. La sua ridotta incidenza quantitativa non ammette che la si consideri come un fenomeno rilevante nella cultura dell'Egitto greco-romano; questa rimane caratterizzata soprattutto dalla diffusione della grande letteratura di Grecia. Ma è importante accertare come già si manifestasse la dicotomia, gravida di conseguenze, tra la letteratura d'arte e di pensiero, e quella di svago o 'di consumo': qualcosa d'impensabile, ad esempio, nell'Atene del V secolo. E, per quanto sporadica sia la sua apparizione, questa letteratura informa sul popolo tra cui sorse e a cui si rivolse. Essa allarga le nostre informazioni sulla cultura che vi si esprimeva, nelle manifestazioni e nelle richieste, senza giungere fino alla massa, forse non sufficientemente alfabetizzata per usufruirne in via diretta (ma di cui, tuttavia, per certi aspetti potè riflettere le tendenze), essa ci conduce almeno verso quelle zone di cultura media, che nelle civiltà antiche sono così difficili da individuare. Inoltre il suo realismo offre preziose aperture sulla vita quotidiana della gente comune; ed altrettanto vi troviamo espresse le sue aspirazioni, le sue paure, le sue ossessioni. Questa letteratura vive della particolare condizione di un popolo, che dai sommi testi della Grecia non poteva trarre pieno appagamento; nelle

sue ingenua manifestazioni trovava una genuina affermazione nazionale quel singolare composito etnico che da premesse storiche e culturali tanto differenti si era venuto formando in Egitto.

Infine, può darsi che uno studioso sia sempre parziale verso i suoi argomenti: ma mi parrebbe ingeneroso concludere senza un accenno anche ai pregi artistici, che talvolta rilucono in questi testi. La loro lingua non è il fulgido greco di un Aristofane o di un Platone: essa è disadorna e talora sconnessa, il loro stile è incondito quando non rozzo - ma nei semplici canti dei battellieri del Nilo, nelle visioni di un tetro oltretomba, nella voce ardente del senso, nell'aspettazione di un'età dell'oro, magari nella fugace apparizione di una fanciulla incantevole che distoglie dall'incarico un artefice abilissimo, ma dedito a Bacco ed evidentemente anche ad Afrodite (11), balena un raggio dell'elementare, intensa poesia che il popolo affida alle sue creazioni.

- 1) A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos*, Bonn 1972, 7: ciò naturalmente a prescindere dagli straordinari motivi d'interesse, che per altri versi offre il romanzo.
- 2) Per lo stesso motivo, mi limiterò a contrassegnare i testi adottati a esempio con gli estremi del catalogo Pack, che vale anche come essenziale rimando bibliografico.
- 3) Risulta quindi emarginata la produzione dilettesca ('provinciale': cfr. A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 2, 1921, 137 sgg.), di cui esempio tipico è il buon Dioscoro d'Afroditepoli, rivolta a cerchie ristrette d'estimatori (e di protettori).
- 4) In alcuni di questi casi il rapporto fra uso scolastico e divulgazione popolare è evidentemente difficile da stabilire.
- 5) Cfr. C.H. Roberts, *MH* 10, 1953, 275 sgg.
- 6) Cfr. B. Perry, *TAPhA* 97, 1966, 327-333.
- 7) Cfr. S. West, *JEA* 55, 1969, 161-183.
- 8) Cfr. L. Koenen, *ZPE* 2, 1968, 178-209 e 3, 1968, 137 sgg.; *Id.*, *Proc. XII Congr. Pap.*, Toronto 1970, 249-254.
- 9) Per gli aspetti anticipatori di alcune tra queste, cfr. A. Dihle, *Hermes* 82, 1954, 182 sgg.
- 10) Cfr. J.W.B. Barns, *Akt. VIII Kongr. Pap.*, Wien 1955, 36.
- 11) Alla fine del frammento della storia di Nectanebo - e la conclusione dell'avventura ci rimane celata.

Trajan's Deification

W. den Boer

Only one piece of evidence for Trajan's deification will be discussed in this paper: P.Giss.3; this text deals with the consecration of the deceased emperor and the accession of his successor. These important facts are mentioned in connection with a celebration at Heptakomia, the metropolis of the Egyptian nome Apollonites¹. My aim in this paper is to show that triumph and consecration were separated both for political and religious reasons.

For clarity's sake the first part of the text follows here in the translation of P.J. Alexander. The god Phoebus speaks: "Having just mounted aloft with Trajan in my chariot of white horses, I come to you, oh people, I, Phoebus, by no means an unknown god, to proclaim the new ruler Hadrian, whom all things serve on account of his virtue and the genius of his divine father²".

Here two 'facts' are mentioned, the ascension of Trajan, his consecration or deification on the one hand, the accession to the throne of Hadrian on the other.

In the political situation, just after the death of Trajan, this text contains a piece of imperial propaganda on three controversial points. Trajan and Hadrian are closely linked together. The same god took the deceased in his chariot and came back to proclaim the new emperor as the legitimate successor. The adoption of Hadrian, the legitimacy of the succession, and the deification of Trajan are, as it were, propagated and sanctioned. The last point, the divinisation of Trajan, was perhaps the least controversial. We have to bear in mind, however, that Trajan's consecration took place at Rome, approximately a year after his death. The text of the papyrus seems to date from 117, and anticipates the consecration. Why? The answer does not seem difficult: To strengthen the position of Hadrian. If one accepted the adoption, he was now son of a Divus, and the succession was certain, both from a religious and from a political point of view. As I stated elsewhere twenty years ago: "If we remember that Hadrian's accession did not proceed without repercussions, necessitating the execution of four consulares, we can understand how welcome was the support of divus Traianus - not to mention the God Phoebus (Apollo)".³

It is selfevident that the posthumous triumph, which had to take place in Rome, had to wait till after the return of Hadrian to the capital. But the divinisation, apparently, could be mentioned, and celebrated in an official song at an official festival, in Egypt (and, if there, then also elsewhere) without any difficulty. Nevertheless the official ceremony of the apotheosis had to be performed at Rome. And there is evidence that this oc-

curred. The controversial point is: Was this ceremony combined with the posthumous triumph? I doubt whether this is true. We can safely assume that Trajan's posthumous triumph is an historical fact. Apart from the literary evidence, which will demand our attention later, the coin legends with Divus Traianus Parthicus are there to prove that the deceased received the title Parthicus⁴. The numismatic evidence is not sufficient, however, to prove that a triumph was held. One could imagine that on a general (or an emperor) a title was bestowed without any ceremony of a triumph. The fact that the general or emperor was dead could have prevented the authorities to decide in favour of a triumph in which the participation of the triumphator as a living person, was essential, because of the ceremonial duties he had to perform. That a triumph was necessary to give to the deceased emperor the title Parthicus is a conclusion, not attested (as far as I know) by any analogy from honorary titles awarded during the Republic or the Empire⁵. That in practice the honorary title was mentioned for the first time during the ceremony of the triumphus is plausible, but it does not affect my argument. All I wish to convey is that a definite custom or rule did not exist for the exceptional case that the general or emperor had been killed in battle or died before the ceremony could take place. And if the aurei with the legend PART(H) were issued in 117, as some scholars assume, the connection with the posthumous triumph which took place in 118 is also impossible from a chronological point of view⁶.

So, in my opinion, we have to separate the title Parthicus from the triumph over the Parthians, in the same way as we have to separate the deification of the emperor (in our papyrus proclaimed by Apollo) from the official rite of the apotheosis at Rome. This analogy gives the papyrus more than local importance.

I do not doubt for a moment that the posthumous triumph really took place. We find it in one of the two literary sources which ask our attention for two reasons; firstly, they prove, in my opinion, that the separation of honours, as maintained in this paper, finds support in the literary evidence; secondly, they illustrate - from an official point of view - what we saw in our papyrus⁷.

SHA I 6.3 reads: "When the senate offered him the triumph which was to have been Trajan's, he (Hadrian) refused it for himself and caused the effigy of the dead emperor to be carried in a triumphal chariot, in order that the best of emperors might not lose even after death the honour of a triumph".⁸ It is these words that may be combined with the coins commemorating the triumph and bearing the legend Divo Traiano Parthico, and on the reverse a four-horse chariot driven by the emperor who

holds a laurel-branch⁹. There is no trace, however, to lead us to suppose that this chariot is identical with that mentioned in our papyrus, viz. the chariot in which Phoebus mounted aloft with Trajan. It is highly speculative to combine this passage from the Life of Hadrian with Epit. de Caes. 13, 11: "The ashes of his (Trajan's) burnt body were transferred to Rome and buried in the Forum of Trajan under his Column, and an effigy that was put on top, was carried into the city on a chariot, just as is done with triumphators; the senate and the army opened the procession"¹⁰.

The crucial words are here et imago superposita (in my translation: and an effigy that was put on top). On top of what? Some scholars say: on top of the Column. This is impossible because the statue of the emperor was there already in 113, and one has to assume that at this occasion it should have been taken down in order to represent the dead emperor in effigie - which is rather far-fetched. In my opinion the emperor's image was put on top of the couch; the parallel for that procedure is to be found in Augustus' funeral: "There was a couch made of ivory and gold and adorned with coverings of purple and gold. In it his body was hidden, in a coffin down below; but a wax image of him in triumphal garb was visible"¹¹. The last words ἐν ἐπιθικίῳ στολῇ ἐξεφαίνετο may explain the comparison in the Epit.: sicut triumphantes solent. This comparison, however, does not lead to the conclusion that the epitomist, unconsciously and misunderstanding his source, gives support to the idea that the two ceremonies (funeral and triumph) were combined into one. It is only natural that at the funeral all the decorations of the deceased are shown in the procession. At Augustus' funeral, apart from the wax image mentioned, there is a second image, of gold, upon a triumphal chariot (ἑτέρα αὖ ἀφ' ἄματος πομπικοῦ ἦγετο). But here also, nobody would see the funeral as a sort of triumph. I do not believe that the allusions to the triumphs of the past (allusions which were undoubtedly the reason why these images were carried in the procession of Augustus' funeral) can support the hypothesis of the so-called contaminatio in the case of Trajan. Here also the triumph as a ceremony has to be separated from the funeral procession.

As to the words imago superposita ("an effigy was put on top") I leave open the possibility that the epitomist, who presumably had not the slightest idea about the date of Trajan's Column and its statue, may have had this mistaken idea. On the other hand, if one combines (leaving out a comma after the first three words) et imago superposita sicut triumphantes solent, one has a close parallel of Augustus' funeral according to Cassius Dio (56, 34, 1) τὸ μὲν σῶμα κάτω ... εἰκὼν δὲ δὴ τις αὐτοῦ κηρίνη ἐν ἐπιθικίῳ στολῇ ἐξεφαίνετο¹².

It is curious to see that a sort of associative reasoning has received the approval of many scholars: The fact that the triumphator's garb was visible at the funeral procession led to the mistaken conclusion that funeral and triumph of Trajan were combined. The same sort of reasoning has influenced this conclusion where the chariot with white horses was introduced. In the papyrus we see that Trajan ascended to heaven on Phoebus' chariot. At the funeral of Augustus and other emperors the body or the ashes were carried on a chariot with white horses. This parallel, consciously or unconsciously, has influenced the historians, but here also the parallel is one of the historian's fallacies.

The imperial propaganda illustrated the adventus of Hadrian as an emperor by his being proclaimed as such not by man but by divine revelation. This makes the papyrus so interesting as a piece of propaganda for the new emperor, even before his official accession to the throne.

Here, I think, we have a more striking parallel with the triumph. The adventus ceremony, so it has been proved recently, "was developed against the background of the triumph"¹³. In Heptokomia, at the time of the official feast mentioned in the papyrus, the situation was not yet cleared up. The adventus of Hadrian was still an open question. The adventus of Phoebus, however, was certain, and a good omen for the future of the man who claimed to be Trajan's successor.

Here also one has to be careful to attribute the adventus ceremony to one part of the Empire from which it was said to be borrowed by the Romans. Here also in modern works the Greeks are the first and foremost candidates for the function of teachers of the Romans. The biblical accounts, from the Old Testament (Ps.24) and from the Gospels (Mat.21,1-11; Mark 11,1-10; Luke 19,28-40; John 12,12-19) are there to prove that the phenomenon was well-known. R.Bultmann's references to Hellenistic sources are limited to St.John, and even that is doubtful in my opinion. However that may be, it is not strange that "Judean adventus coins of the emperor Hadrian also show the province of Judea, accompanied by children with palm branches welcoming the emperor"¹⁴. If that was possible quite early in Hadrian's reign in one of the most difficult and politically unstable provinces of the Empire, the new emperor could be full of hope about a quiet reign. That this hope was not realized, as the future would show, could not be foreseen at the moment these coins were struck and the song of the Pap.Giss.3 was sung.

1) The text has been published many times. See Wilcken, Chrest.No.491; M.David and B.A.van Groningen, Papyrological Primer (1952³)No.2; E.M.Smallwood, Documents illustrating the principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian (1966)No.519. Very many allusions to this text are to be found in modern literature; we are mainly concerned here with studies centred round the religious implications. Among these are W.Michaelis in ThWNT 4(1942) 247-256, s.v. λευκός, in particular 256, note 65; W.den Boer, Religion and Literature in Hadrian's Policy, Mnem.8 (1953) 123-144, espec. 131-132; S.Weinstock, Divus Julius, Oxford 1971, 68 ff.; 71, note 11.

2) P.J.Alexander, Letters and Speeches of the Emperor Hadrian, HSCP, 49 (1938), 141-177; for the translation, ibid. 143-144.

3) W.den Boer, o.c. 132.

4) The date, however, is uncertain, see P.Veyne, Une hypothèse sur l'arc de Bénévient, MEFR, 72 (1960), 191-217, and the appendix 217-219.

5) The title was given because of the victory, but not necessarily connected with the triumph. See e.g. on Q.Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus: Vell.2,10,3; Fabio Pauli nepoti ex victoria cognomen Allobrogicum inditum. Very instructive in this respect Q.Caecilius Metellus Baliaricus (RE III 1207, No.82), Q.Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (ibid. 1214 No.94), Q.Caecilius Metellus Creticus (ibid. No.87). See further i.a. Bloch-Carcopino, Histoire romaine II 1,288.

One has to bear in mind that during the Republic many titles had become hereditary. It has been recorded as one of the great merits of Scipio Aemilianus that he was the new Africanus who won this title personally. Vell.1,13,2; Eutr.IV,12,4. His triumph, on the other hand, was a different affair; see E.Pais, Fasti triumphales I (1920) 183; cp. Liv.Periocha 52.

6) See also Veyne's observations in the publication mentioned in note 4.

7) I owe much to the article of J-C.Richard, "Les funérailles de Trajan et le triomphe sur les Parthes", REL 44 (1966) 351-362, although I do not accept his conclusion on the "contaminatio du triomphe et de l'apothéose". I also believe that Bickermann was right in separating the cremation of the corpse from the ceremony of the apotheosis in those cases in which the emperor had died far from Rome, where the official ceremony took place later. (ARW 27 (1929) 1-34). See also Bickermann, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique XIX (Vandoeuvres-Genève 1973) 20. For a different view see R-C.Richard, "Incinération et inhumation aux funérailles impériales", Latomus 25 (1966) 784-804; on Trajan, ibid., 786 and 792. ILS 322, mentioned by Bickermann in this publication, does not give any information concerning Trajan. The inscription dates

from Antoninus Pius. The only relation mentioned is that Hadrian is the (adopted) son of Trajan. It may also be noted that according to the inscription Hadrian was not (yet) divus.

8) SHA I,6,3: Cum triumphum ei senatus, qui Traiano debitus erat, detulisset, recusavit ipse atque imaginem Traiani curru triumphali vexit, ut optimus imperator ne post mortem quidem triumphi amitteret dignitatem.

9) See D.Magie in the Loeb-edition of SHA ad loc.

10) Epit.de Caes.13,11: huius exusti corporis cineres relati Romam humatique Traiano foro sub eius columna, et imago superposita - sicut triumphantes solent - in urbem invecta (sc.est), senatu praeunte et exercitu.

11) Cass.Dio 56,34,1 in the translation by E.Cary (Cassius Dio in Loeb-series VII,75).

12) A quite different interpretation by Richard, REL, in article mentioned, with the conclusion: "C'est donc sa victoire qui devait faire de Trajan un divus" (o.c.357). There does not exist any proof for this view for the imperial period. Neither does it find any support in the relations between triumph and funus in republican times, as has been pointed out by H.S.Versnel, Triumphus (thesis Leiden 1970), 115-129, in a searching analysis of both triumphal and funeral rites, their similarities and differences.

13) S.MacCormack, Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity. The Ceremony of Adventus, Historia 21 (1972), 721-752, quotation on p.725. How self-evident the adventus on a white horse is, even in modern times, was brought home to me by the amusing story in G.Durrell, My Family and other animals, 111: "Well, it was in the first world war, you know, and the commander of my battallion was determined that we should march into Smyrna in a ... triumphal column, led, if possible by a man on a white horse".

14) Historia 1972, 724, and note 19; also R.Bultmann, Das Evangelium des Johannes (1941), 319. H.Mattingly, Roman Imperial Coinage II, pl.16,322. Id. Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum III (repr.1966) 221-225.

P.Flor.50: Reconsidered.

By

M.A.H.el Abbadi

The provenance of this papyrus is Hermopolis Magna and it is dated 10th Dec. 268 A.D. It is a long deed of division of inherited property between three brothers and a sister, Claudius Eudaemon, (a bouleutes of Alexandria) Cl. Isidorianus, Cl. Theon and Claudia Timothea. (11.118 ff). The document seems to be the renovation of a division of property of a fifth deceased brother, Maecenas who was still indebted to the treasury. In spite of its considerable length (121 long lines), it is estimated that at least 50 lines are missing at the beginning. The entire share of Eudaimon and part of that of Isidorianus are thus lost. The surviving text contains half the share of Isidorianus as well as the shares of Theon and Timothea, followed by a description of the property which remained commonly owned by the heirs and a declaration of their being collectively responsible for the payment of Maecenas' dues to the treasury. Finally, we have the signatures.

In spite of its present condition, which is far from complete, this document is of more than usual interest in so far as it illustrates the changing conditions in third century Roman Egypt, both economically and socially.

The Property :

From an economic point of view, it is perhaps the only surviving third century papyrus which contains such a detailed description of the formation of a decidedly private large land-ownership. On this assumption I shall venture here a general assessment of the size of the original inheritance and a discussion of some aspects of its formation.

Because of the missing part at the beginning and the lacunae which pervade the surviving text, it is practically impossible to assess the exact size of the whole property. As there are many lacunae in Theon's share, I shall depend in my calculations on Timothea's inheritance which is more complete as it falls in the better preserved latter part of the document. Thus, in my attempt to calculate the shares of Theon and Timothea I have reached the following, rather perplexing results:

<u>Theon</u>	<u>Timothea</u>
127 ar.; 8 plots of land (size unknown or broken)	273 ar.
1 $\frac{1}{4}$ vineyards, $\frac{1}{4}$ piece of reed-land	$\frac{1}{2}$ plot with farm buildings
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ houses	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ houses
$\frac{1}{2}$ canal	
5 slaves	6 slaves

In addition to their various respective shares, eleven other entries are held in common ownership by the three brothers and their sister, mainly buildings of common use such as, store-houses, a farmstead, a drying place, ox-stalls, a canal, a dovecote, wine-presses, a flour-mill, potter's wheelsetc. (11. 96-104)

As the best preserved share is that of the sister Timothea, the question arises, on what basis was the property divided among the three brothers and their sister? We know that the papyri have preserved examples of equal division of legacy between male and female (e.g. P.Bour 2, A.D. 350) as well as others in which special bequests were made to one of the sons (as in P.Oxy.907, A.D.276). In cases of intestacy however, the Greeks in Egypt followed the general Greek tradition of dividing the inheritance into equal shares among sons and daughters. (1) With regard to the deed of division under discussion, certain considerations may help our decision:

- a. In spite of the fact that what survives in the text of Theon's share is far less than his sister's, it is perhaps a safe assumption that had the text been complete, his share would have been either equal to, or more than Timothea's.
- b. The fact that the three brothers and their sister retain part of the patrimony as their common property, implies equal division.
- c. In several cases in the division, the property was either divided into four equal parts (each having τέταρτον μέρος) (2) or into halves, indifferently between male and female, (3) or even though less frequently, by third. (4)
- d. The four heirs declare their collective responsibility for any personal or civic dues owed by their deceased brother, Maecenas, to the treasury. (5)

In the light of these considerations, I am inclined to suggest that, in our case, the property was divided into four equal shares. If this was the case, then the share of Timothea would represent the near approximation of a quarter of the original inheritance. Thus we would have at Hermopolis an estate of more than 1092 arourae of landed property in addition to a complex of buildings and other structures. The occurrence of this large land-ownership at Hermopolis fits in with the known development of landed property in third century Egypt. These developments culminated in the re-emergence of the οὐσία type of the first century (6). Now as before, leading Alexandrians appeared prominently in this revival. We know the cases of Am. Maron (7), Aur. Heracleides (8), and Aur. Appianus (9). But, whereas the position of these men in relation to their land is not

clearly defined (10), our case deals with a definitely private property. The heirs state that they have absolute right of ownership over their respective property according to this declaration and what is stated in it, furthermore that each is responsible for the payment of the state dues and taxes for his own property (11).

The detailed description given in the document of the various shares shows clearly how these large estates were composed of various small or large pieces of land of different categories: vineyards, garden-land, clerouchic land, private land and state land, both βασιλική γῆ and δημοσία γῆ. The inclusion of state land in an inherited private property is significant because it helps to illustrate, at least in part, the formation of large estates in the third century. It is obvious from line 75-6, ἀπ[δ] (ἀρουρῶν) ὁ σὺν τῷ ἐνεγκομένης βασι[λικῆς γῆς] ἀρούρης τετάρτ[ω τὸ ἥ]μισυ μέρος ἀρούρας δύο, that the βασιλική γῆ here, was imposed upon the landowner. But more interesting is the reference to a large piece of βασιλική γῆ where there appears to be an element of personal choice or wish by the landlord himself, (1.93) ἐκ τῶν Σεύσου καὶ Ὀρίωνος καὶ Ῥυμηθαβα κλήρων σὺν αἰροῦντι βασιλικῆς ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) ρλβ δ 15 λο (i.e. 132 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{16}$)

Also in line 58 we find 8 ar. of δημοσία γῆ. There is another third century example, in which the landlord, Heracleides, leased land designated γῆ βασιλική. (12). This kind of γῆ βασιλική may have been of the category already known in the second century as 'royal land registered under the category of private land' (13). These examples prove beyond any reasonable doubt that crown land was already passing into private ownership as early as the middle of the third century, a phenomenon which was once thought to have only started in the fourth century after the reforms of Diocletian (14).

The Family

From a social point of view the civic status of the family of our four heirs is not without interest. It has been, so far, considered a Hermopolite family, but judging from the evidence provided by their signatures, we can detect two indications of their Alexandrian origin. First, the fact that they all bear the Roman name Claudii and not Aurelii, may suggest that they belong to a family that had acquired Roman citizenship before the Constitutio Antoniniana, when only Alexandrians in Egypt were entitled to become Romans. Second, and more decisive, is that only one of the brothers styled himself an Alexandrian senator, Κλαύδιος Ἀφροδείσιος ὁ καὶ Εὐδαίμων βουλευτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. As he signed his name first, we may assume that he may have been the eldest of the brothers or at least, the most important. (1.118) It is therefore very probable that the parents of these brothers and their sister were Alexandrians who had settled in the Hermopolite where they had a large property, and that only Eudaimon maintained his right and interest in his Alexandrian citizenship while the others neglected that right and tended to identify themselves with the locality of their property.

This latter tendency seems to have been, in fact, another important social development in third century Egypt and there are several cases which

confirm this suggestion.

1. A member of a distinguished Alexandrian family identifies himself with Acoris in the Delta, *Αὐρ. Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Ἑλλάδος* / [ἐ]πίκλην Ἀκωρείτης ἄρχας [βο]υλευτῆς τῆς λαμπ. [Ἀλ]εξανδρείας. It is worthy of note that his sister was a 'matrona stolata', a title carried only by women of aristocratic families in Alexandria. Their father had the distinguished career of 'eutheniarch, cosmetes exegetes, hypomnomatographos, bouleutes of Alexandria!'. (15)
2. M.Aur. Saras styles himself 'gymnasiarch, bouleutes of Oxyrhynchus' without any reference to his connection with Alexandria except the mention of his father, M.Aur. Diogenes alias Heliodorus who had been a former eutheniarch and bouleutes of Alexandria. Gradually that mention also disappears and the local identity stands alone.
3. The grandson of a eutheniarch of Alexandria styles himself simply Aur. Sarapion alias Apollonios, gymnasiarch, bouleutes of Oxyrhynchus. (17)
4. Sarapion, ex-agoranomos, was nominated, together with his brother Philoxenas as 'decaproti' in Mendes, but their grandfather, a former exegetes and bouleutes of Alexandria, claims that they are under age for that office. (18)

The explanation for this phenomenon lies in the drastic administrative and political changes which initiated the third century: first, the establishment by Sept. Severus of the boulae in Alexandria and the metropoleis in 199-200 A.D.; second, the announcement of the Constitutio Antoniniana in 212 A.D. The immediate result of these two laws was the abolition of local distinctions. (19) Consequently, Romans and Alexandrians resident in the metropoleis became equally liable to membership of the boule and sustaining civic magistracies like the metropolitae. Not only were those who adopted the metropolitae as their origo subjected to this rule, but also persons who resided in the metropolis and owned sufficient *πόρος*: Romans and Alexandrians were no longer privileged classes and had to sustain their share of local obligations. This point of serving the magistracies in either one's origo or domicile was clearly stated in the law quoted in the Digest: "sed eodem tempore non sunt honores in duabus civitatibus ab eodem gerendi: cum simul igitur utraque deferuntur, potior est originis causa." (20) That is, the 'honores' should not be served by the same person in two cities at the same time, but when they thus occur, the 'origo' has a better claim on the services of its citizen. In other words, a citizen can serve magistracies in two places, namely his origo and his domicile, at different times. (21) This proved too exacting and consequently many Romans and Alexandrians gradually neglected their attachment to Alexandria and identified themselves with the locality where they had property. Their children eventually adopted that locality as both origo and domicile.

In conclusion, the great wave of change and transformation which

swept over the Roman Empire in the third century, covered also Egypt. There, one can describe the change as the victory of the metropoleis over the capital. It was characterized by two inter-related phenomena: one economic, the other social. The first, was the growth of private land-ownership to an unprecedented degree. Property was the only guarantee of survival for the upper classes. The second, was a type of civic mobility which took the form of wealthy Romans and Alexandrians increasingly tending to reside and finally adopt the locality where they happen to own land. This latter phenomenon is extremely important, since, in the present state of our knowledge, it is the only convincing explanation for the extraordinary situation which existed in the following period, when large estates became the basis of the new way of life and Alexandrians scarcely figure among its land-owners. (22)

For these reasons, P.Flor. 50 is, to my mind, of more than usual interest as it adequately illustrates the above mentioned two phenomena which Egypt witnessed in the third century.

- (1) cf. Taubenschlag, Law in Greco-Roman Egypt, 2nd ed. 1955, p. 140 f.
- (2) e.g. lines 1,33,77; 9,82; also lines 35-6,36,44-5,54-5,55,83,92,93.
- (3) Lines 27-8,29,35,63,68,71,74,74-5,86-91,91,93.
- (4) Lines 56-7,64,66,82,84-5.
- (5) Lines 113-114: εἴ τι δὲ ἐὰν ὀφ[ιλ]ῆ ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Κλ(αύδιος) Μαί[κ]ηνας τῶν ἰ[δι]ω[τικῶν] καὶ πολιτικῶν τῶν ἱερωτάτων ταμείῳ μέχρι συνκλεισμοῦ τοῦ διελεθόντος α' (ἔτους) καὶ αὐτοῦ α' (ἔτους).....εἰς Τῦβι β' (ἔτους) τοῦτο ἀποδοθῆναι ἐκ τῆς κοινότητος.
- (6) c.f. Rostovtzeff, SEHRE. pp 489 ff.
- (7) P.Lond. III. 852, pp. 48 ff. , Fayum, A.D. 216-219.
- (8) SB. IV. 7474, Fayum, A.D. 254; P.Princ. II. 37, Fayum, A.D. 255-6.
- (9) P.Flor. II. Introd. ; SB. nos. 1492-1517; P.Flor. I.70, Fayum , A.D. 231-2
- (10) Rostovtzeff, loc.cit.
- (11) Lines 114-116 : ἕκαστον δὲ ἡμῶν κρατεῖν καὶ κυρι[εύ]ειν ὧν ἔλαχεν ὡς πρόκειται καὶ χρᾶσθαι καὶ οἰκονομεῖν καὶ διοικεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐὰν αἰρήται, ἀνεμπόδιστως σὺν τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ μεταπαραληφόμενοις ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τελουντα κατ' ἔτος τὰ ὑπ[ε]ρ τῶν ἀρουρῶν καὶ τῆς ἀπέλου δημόσια πάντα καὶ ἐπιμερισμοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος β' (ἔτους) ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.
- (12) SB.7474, A.D. 254; TAPA, 56 (1925) 213 ff. ; P.Princ. II. 37, introd.
- (13) Wilcken, Chrest. 341: γῆ βασιλ[ικῆ] ἐν τάξει ἰδιοκτῆτου ἀναγρα(φομένη).
- (14) Johnson and West, Byz. Egypt. p. 40.
- (15) S.B. 178, Acoris (Delta) A.D. III century.

- (16) P.Oxy. 1114, A.D. 237; also 1115.
 (17) P.S.I. 1249, Oxy, A.D. 255.
 (18) P.S.I. 303, Mendes (Delta) A.D. III century.
 (19) A.H.M. Jones, J.R.S. 26 (1936) pp. 223; also *Studies in Rom. Gov. and Law*, (1960) pp. 129 ff.
 (20) Dig. L. 1.17.4.
 (21) Such cases are found in : P.Oslo, III. 85 (A.D. 273) ; B.G.U. 1072 (A.D. 274) ; 1074 (A.D. 275) ; P.Oxy. 1412 (A.D. 284) ; 55 (A.D. 283) ; 59 (A.D. 292) ; P.S.I. 705 (A.D. III) ; P.Oxy. 2108 (A.D. 259).
 (22) In a survey which I made of Alexandrians owning land in the chora in Roman Egypt, I noticed that the papyri yielded the following figures :
- | | |
|-------------------|----------|
| a. First century | 53 cases |
| b. Second century | 70 cases |
| c. Third century | 45 cases |
| d. Fourth century | 10 cases |

In the fifth and sixth centuries, we practically never hear of Alexandrian landowners outside Alexandria itself. These figures are no doubt conditioned by the state of extant papyri, but they do serve as an indication of the changing conditions. For full tables see my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation 'The Alexandrians from the foundation of the City to the Arab Conquest', Cambridge, 1960.

A FOURTH CENTURY HYMN TO THE VIRGIN MARY?
 PSALMUS RESPONSORIUS: P.BARC. I49b-I53.

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The text to which the title refers is part of a papyrus codex of varied content.(I) It has been edited in a thorough and beautifully presented edition by Professor Ramon Roca-Puig(2) who dates the codex to the first half of the fourth century(3) and gives to the psalmus responsorius the title 'Himne a la Verge Maria'.

The text of the poem consists of five leaves, one of which is fragmentary. After the title, psalmus responsorius, and a brief introduction, there are twelve more or less complete strophes, in abecedarius form, starting with the letters A to M. The fragmentary leaf contains the first few letters of the N and O strophes on the verso, while the recto preserves the last few letters of ten lines.(4) The scribe has indicated the strophe divisions by indenting the first letter, or in some cases two letters, of each strophe into the margin. Line divisions within the strophes have been made by Roca-Puig on the basis of rhythm and assonance.

In this paper I wish to examine a different interpretation from that given by Roca-Puig of the word responsorius, and to consider its relation to the nature and subject of the poem. Roca-Puig interprets responsorius with reference to the rhythmical structure of the poem.(5) The elements of the responsion are listed as the use of a Ciceronian type of cursus(6) of assonance or end rhyme (7) and of word distribution.(8) All are part of the poet's individual technique. However C.H. Roberts points out (9) that responsorius in such a context would usually suggest that there was an element in the psalmus which could be said or sung antiphonally.(10) It has further been suggested (II) that the first four lines of the poem, which come in our copy between the title and the A-strophe, would form a suitable response, either as a refrain after each strophe or as an opening section matched at the end by a closing one.(12) These four lines:

Pater, qui omnia regis,
 preco (I3) Christi nos scias heredes.
 Christus, verbo natus,
 per quem populus est liberatus.

There remains to consider the appropriateness of the proposed refrain to the individual strophes (not all of which can be examined here in detail).

The opening lines of the first three strophes

Audiamus, fratres, magnalia dei.
Benedictus et potens est ipse pater.
Claritas dei demonstrabatur

refer to the attributes or works of the Father and are in accord with the first line of the proposed refrain. (23) The first strophe begins with the exhortation, and then the poet introduces his subject - Christ's lineage (David) and the prophecies concerning Him. In other words, the hymn is to be concerned with Christ as Son of God and Messiah. The opening line shows these magnalia are the work of God the Father. The refrain would be suitable as underlining the omnipotence of God (lines I,5) and as indicating the purpose of Christ's coming (lines 4,II).

In the second strophe the poet begins his narrative, which follows closely the Protevangelium of James. (24) The subject is the conception of Mary (her childhood comes in the third strophe), but throughout it is apparent that the author has selected the material to give a simple narrative which does not exalt the human participants but demonstrates the miraculous works of God. (25)

The narrative of Mary's birth, childhood, betrothal and the conception of her child leads in the seventh (and longest) strophe to the birth of Christ. Then the author devotes four strophes to the coming of the wise men and Herod's reaction. The next strophe, the last complete (or nearly complete) one describes Jesus' first miracle, according to the Gospel of John. It depicts Jesus conducting His ministry. His disciples have been chosen and His reputation as a worker of miracles is established. (26) Mary's role is not emphasized. (27)

It is impossible to be certain about the contents of the fragmentary strophes. (28) About the original extent of the psalmus too, there has been debate. Though this copy may be defective, it seems unlikely that an abecedarius writer would finish at O or P. (29)

Taking the hymn as a whole, it may be seen that the power of God the Father is introduced at the outset (lines I, 5, I2, 2I). Though Mary is very much concerned in the events narrated, the emphasis is not on Mary herself but on the way

must therefore be examined closely in relation to the subject of the psalmus, before a conclusion can be reached about the likelihood of their constituting the responsorial element.

If these four lines were the original refrain, they would have to be suited, metrically and in subject matter, for repetition, and be related in such a way to the content that they could appropriately be repeated after each strophe. In other words, they should reflect the central concerns of the whole piece. We need not be deterred by the fact that the papyrus copy fails to indicate the responsorial element, for this copy could hardly have been designed for liturgical or even public use. (I4)

Rhythmically, these opening lines stand out from the rest of the poem. The rhythmical structure has been explained by Roca-Puig who sees the psalmus as exhibiting some features of classical quantitative metre, (I5) but also as having a partial affinity with the accentual rhythms used by Augustine and his imitators. (I6) Despite the variations in the number of syllables to a line, the majority of lines have four stresses. (I7) Occasionally there are three or five stresses to a line, but these variations do not form a regular pattern. There is, however, a pattern in the opening four lines where we find three stresses in the first line, four in the second, three in the third and four in the fourth. It might be coincidence (since only one hundred complete or nearly complete lines survive), but it is noteworthy that there are only two other lines with fewer than four stresses, and in each case there is a definite break in the sense between what has preceded and what follows. (I8) In this respect, therefore, the four opening lines have a repetitive quality which is absent from the rest of the poem.

In form, the introductory lines exhibit a parallelism and balance which makes them suited to repetition. The first line begins with an address to the Father, followed by a descriptive relative clause (the equivalent of the epithet omnipotens or παντοκράτωρ). (I9) The first line is balanced by the third line, where the name of Christ is followed by a description (verbo natus). (20) Lines two and four are concerned with two aspects of the redemptive work of Christ. Line two refers to the Father's response, while line four brings out the effect of the redemption. (2I) Thus the four lines in question have unity and symmetry in their references to Father and Son. The Holy Spirit is not mentioned, (22) nor is the Virgin Mary.



the miraculous workings of God are shown and Christ comes into the world. There is no indication that the hymn is addressed to Mary or is specifically in her honour. (30)

If this interpretation is accepted, we may conclude that the opening four lines are relevant to the rest of the hymn as they emphasize the theme of the hand of God seen through events and the ultimate purpose of those events. It seems likely that the introductory lines could have furnished a responsum, as envisaged by the title. Though this theory cannot be proved on the basis of the papyrus copy of the psalmus, the opening lines can in any case be shown to foreshadow the subject of the piece.

FOOTNOTES

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1. The codex also contains parts of Cicero, In Catilinam I and II and some Greek liturgical items. See Roca-Puig, 'Catilinares: P.Barc. inv.no.I37 a b' Aegyptus xlix (1969), pp.92-104; id., 'Frases "extra Textum" en P.Barc. inv.I54b-I57', Proc.XII Int.Cong.Pap. (Toronto, 1970) pp.437-442.
2. R. Roca-Puig, Himne a la Verge Maria. 'Psalmus Responsorius'. Papir llati del segle IV, 2nd edition (Barcelona, 1965). Henceforth cited as Roca-Puig, Himne).
3. Roca-Puig, Himne, pp. 48-52. C.H. Roberts, JThS n.s. xviii (1967), p. 492 prefers to widen the dating to cover the whole century. E.A. Lowe, Codices Latini Antiquiores, Suppl. (Oxford, 1971), no. 1782 assigns it to the second half of the fourth century.
4. The verso precedes the recto in each case. See Roca-Puig, Himne, p.3.
5. Roca-Puig, Himne pp.76, 156.
6. With some original variations. Roca-Puig, Himne, pp.76-96. See however, comments by S.Bartina, Stud.Pap. viii (1969) p.131.
7. e.g. lines 40-I diligebat, dicebat. Roca-Puig, Himne, pp. 96-99.
8. Roca-Puig, Himne, pp.100-101.
9. JThS n.s. xviii (1967), pp. 493-494.
10. A Souter, A Glossary of Later Latin (Oxford, 1949) s.v. responsorius. See examples in W. Speyer, JbAC x (1967), p. 215.
11. G. Lazzati, Aegyptus xlvi (1966), p. 122; M. Naldini, RSLR iv (1968), p. 160. A later example is Augustine's Psalmus contra partem Donati which has a refrain which comes at the beginning and is repeated after each stanza. Here the refrain serves a polemical purpose.
12. For a later example, see Fulgentius of Ruspe's Psalmus Abecedarius. Roca-Puig, Himne, p.100 envisages an epilogue matching the introduction.
13. peco P.Barc.; Roca-Puig emends to peto, and Barigazzi, RFIC xcvi (1968), p.223 to preco.
14. Not least because of the carelessness with which the scribe wrote (in haste?). See the unfinished word im (line 16) and the extraordinary umemac (line 27). The scribe may have been more familiar with Greek than Latin. See Lowe, CLA Suppl., p. 32.
15. Himne, pp. 75-96. Cf. Bartina, Stud.Pap.viii (1969), p.131.
16. F.J.E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry (Oxford, 1953) pp. 20f, 42.
17. Roberts, JThS n.s. xviii (1967), p.492.
18. lines 44, 77.
19. Roca-Puig Himne, p. 157.
20. Cf. lines 19,43. At line 45 Christ is Himself the verbum.
21. See Roca-Puig's detailed line by line source - commentary for Biblical echoes. It might be suggested, however, that Christi heredes is not a N.T. concept

as the parallels quoted (p.158) speak of heirs of God, or co-heirs with Christ.

22. Unless verbo (line 3) is a reference to the Holy Spirit. It would seem unlikely. On the interpretation of line 3, see I. Rodriguez, Helmantica xviii (1967), p.292.
23. fratres lines 2,4,; magnalia dei 4. Lazzati, Aegyptus xlvi (1966), p.123.
24. Detailed resemblances and divergences are indicated by Roca-Puig's commentary.
25. e.g. the frequent presence of angels (lines 17,27,30); her destiny (lines 33-34, 39-41); cf. line 48.
26. The scene of Jesus at twelve years old in the temple is omitted - perhaps because of the similarity with the fourth strophe.
27. In fact, because of the elliptical style of the psalmus she is not given as much importance as in Jn.ii, the source. The psalmus has the impersonal tunc ei dicitur, while in the gospel account it is Mary who speaks. Roca-Puig's emendation mater for aquae (line 100) has been challenged by Naldini, RSLR iv (1968), p.159 and Barigazzi, RFIC xcvi (1968), p.226.
28. See Roca-Puig, Himne pp. 198-201 with suggestions by Roberts, JThS n.s. xviii (1967), p.493. L.M. Peretto, Marianum xxix (1967), p.261 offers no evidence for this suggestion that the poem treated Mary beneath the Cross.
29. especially when several 'easy' letters follow. Some abecedarius writers such as Augustine avoided X Y and Z but others, like Commodianus and Fulgentius even managed these (with the aid of Greek). Greek abecedarius writers could use the whole alphabet (e.g. P. Amh.i.2). For different views of the length of the original see Roca-Puig, Himne, p.100; and Lazzati, Aegyptus xlvi (1966), p.123 (21 + strophes); Naldini, RSLR iv (1968), p.158 (23 strophes); Roberts, JThS n.s. xviii (1967), p.493 (23-4 strophes); Barigazzi, RFIC xcvi (1968), p.222 (21-2 strophes). The view that the original poem finished where the papyrus copy ends is accepted by other reviewers, e.g. M. Hombert, CE xlvi (1968) p.190.
30. The absence of such indications contrasts with the later hymns to the Virgin, particularly after the controversy. See, e.g. K. Treu Archiv xxii-iii (1974), p.385; P. Ryl, iii.470; O. Tait, IV II7-8.

NOTE: A fuller version of this paper is to be published in the Special Papyrological Number of the Museum Philologum Londiniense.

SOME GREEK AND LATIN PAPYRI OF THE PERIOD 50 BC to 50 AD

FROM Q'ASR IBRIM IN NUBIA

by Professor W H C Frend (Glasgow)

The Cathedral fortress of Q'asr Ibrim in Egyptian Nubia, some 55 miles north of Abu Simbel has produced an astonishing variety of important ecclesiastical and historical documents written in Greek, Old Nubian and Coptic from the eighth to fifteenth century AD¹. The existence, however, of Greek and Latin papyri dating to roughly 50 BC to 50 AD was wholly unexpected and it is a privilege to announce these discoveries to this congress.

In March 1974 during the final phase of the Egypt Exploration Society's expedition for that year under the direction of Rev Professor J M Plumley, I was given the task of testing and clearing a wide strip outside the south wall of the fortress with the object of discovering something of the date and construction of this part of the fortifications. After the discovery of what would appear to be a blocked up entrance to a temple of Pharaonic date situated some 15 metres from the Heroitic gateway discovered in 1969², I moved to the area of the south west tower. This is a massive square tower some 10 metres internal measurement built carefully of roughly shaped

1 Thus, J M Plumley 'Q'asr Ibrim 1963-4'. JEA 50, 1964, p 3, and W H C Frend, "Greek, Coptic and Nubian at Q'asr Ibrim", Byzantino-Slavica, xxxiii, 1972, p 224-230.

2 J M Plumley, 'Q'asr Ibrim 1969'. JEA 56, 1970. Pl xxiv, 1-3.

but closely fitted grey dry-stone blocks and was for centuries the principal military feature at Q'asr Ibrim. It projects at an angle beyond the line of the wall and originally stood about 8 metres high. In later, probably Nubian times, it had been heightened by another two metres so as to give the defenders a yet wider view across the Nile for signs of marauding bedouin from the desert. The steep slope down to the level of the river 250 feet below enhanced the tactical strength of the position (Sketch 1).

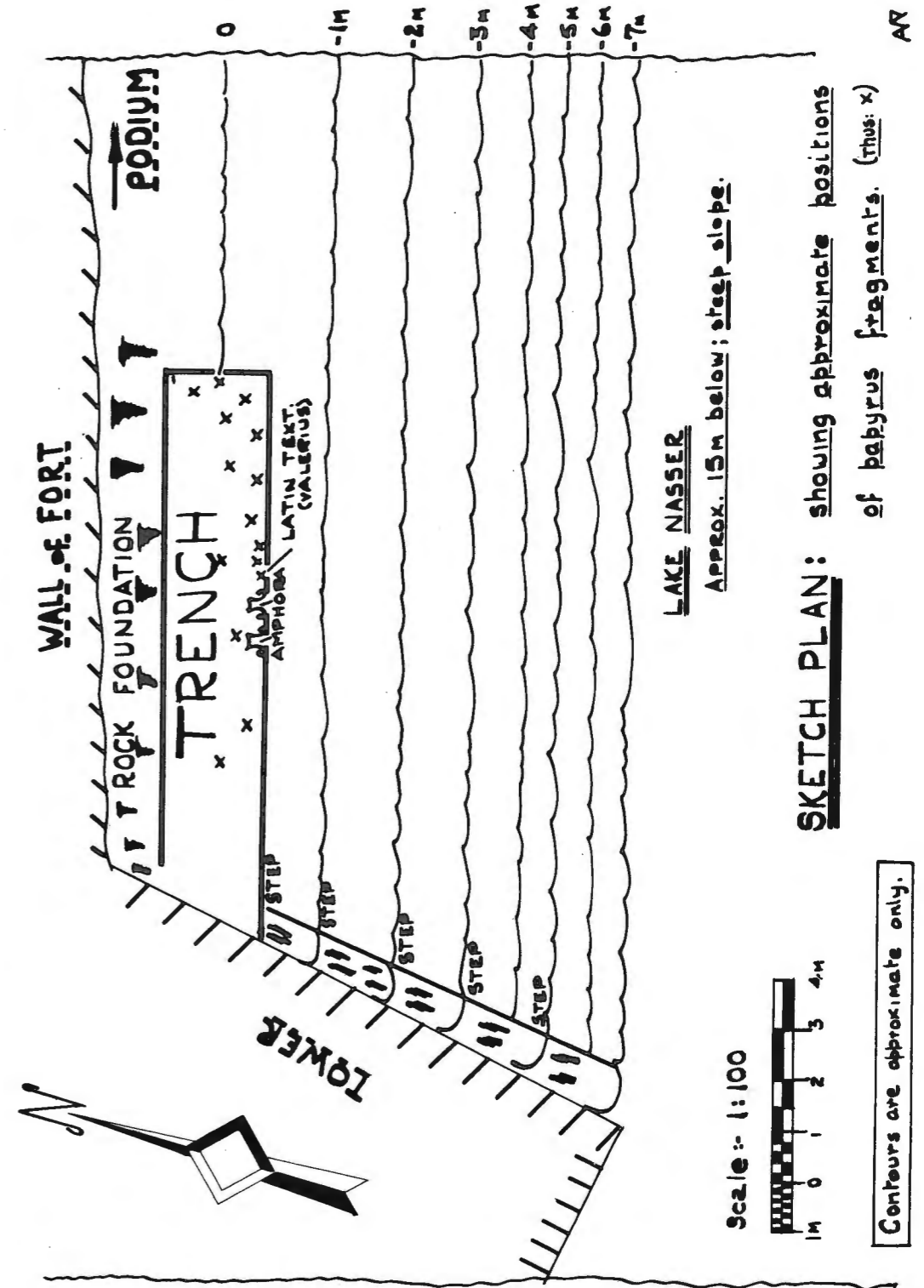
A considerable amount of debris had piled up along the length of the fortification wall, and particularly near its angle with the tower. It was during trenching in this area that the papyri which will be roughly described, were found. We uncovered four main levels of archaeological deposit (Sketch 2).

- (a) A mixed stoney rubble containing some fragments of Old Nubian and Arabic paper and late-Nubian pottery.
The lack of very late post-Nubian remains may be explained partly by the steepness of the slope towards the Nile. Most of the latest rubbish would roll down to the bottom.
- (b) Below (a) a light loamy deposit containing however a good deal of burnt vegetable matter.
- (c) Below (b) and concentrated at the west or tower end of the trench a deposit of limestone chippings.
- (d) Below (b) and sealed by it, a very dry layer consisting of soft wind-blown sand and palm frond.

It was in (d) that the papyri were found. The layer was about 0.50 m thick, and about 1.10 m - 1.60 m from the surface. It was the lowest level on this part of the site, resting on a broad ledge of limestone

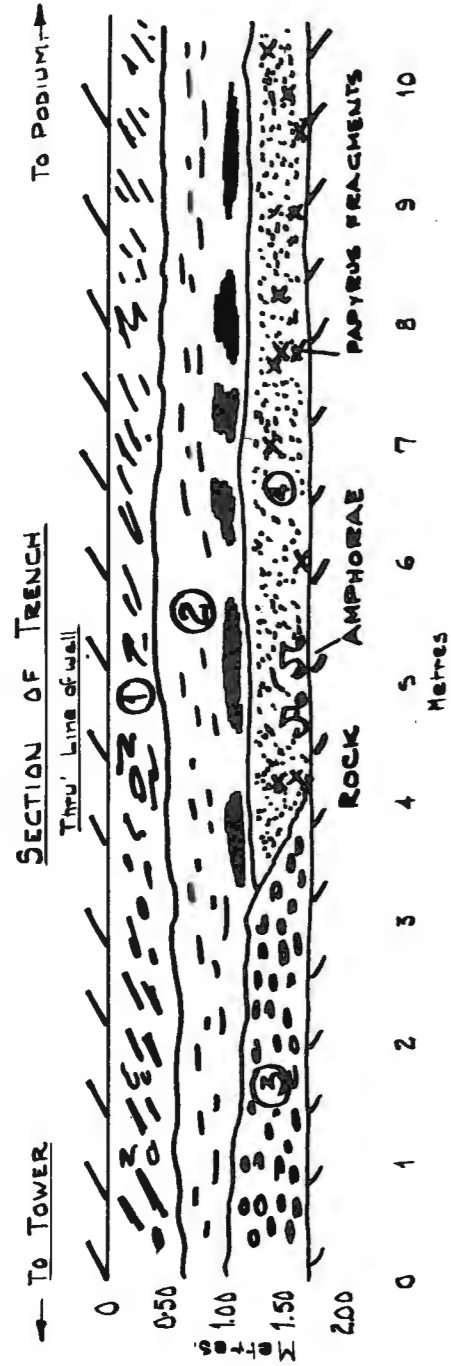
Q'ASR IBRIM 1974 - TOWER SITE

Sketch: (i)



Q'ASR IBRIM 1974 - TOWER SITE.

Sketch (ii)



- ① MIXED DEBRIS OF NUBIAN DATE.
- ② DRY SOFT DEBRIS WITH SOME BURNING.
- ③ SANDSTONE CHIPPINGS
- ④ DRY SOFT DEBRIS CONTAINING MUCH 1st CENT (?) POTTERY & PAPYRUS.

Scale: 1:50



SECTION

showing approximate position of banyrus in trench running along line of north wall.

AR

Q'ASR IBRIM 1974 TOWER SITE.



NO TRUE SCALE

OBLIQUE VIEW SHOWING GRADIENT.

AR

which projected outwards from the line of the fortress wall at this point.

The papyri were scattered about in this layer and in a fragmentary condition. The majority of pieces turned out to be blank, perhaps the end of rolls, but so far, sufficient written material has been found to indicate parts of thirteen separate documents in handwriting, Professor Turner informs me, dating to between 50 BC and 50 AD.

The largest group of fragments consist of 18 pieces of a text of the Odyssey taken from the Second and Fifth books. They were first identified by a colleague on the expedition, Madame Elisabeth Trapman-Labouchere who picked out the words ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ on one fragment and ΘΕΟΙ and ΑΠΤΕΜ[Ι]C on a second. The papyrus had been written in two different hands but each using fine clear capitals in two columns. As it was the centre portion that had survived in most cases, the surviving text consisted of the final words of each line written in the left hand column, but occasionally traces of the first words of the right hand column. Twelve fragments come from Odyssey Book ii, lines 72-125, lines 76-100 being the most complete in the whole series. The story here concerns the suitors that came from all parts of Ithaka to seek the hand of Penelope on the presumption of Odysseus' death in the Trojan war. We have a portion of Telemachus' speech denouncing the suitors (lines 72-79) and a longer fragment of Antinōos reply in their defence (lines 85-100). There are six smaller fragments from Book v, lines 122-171, where Odysseus is on Calypso's island and Hermes, the messenger of Zeus, tells Calypso to send Odysseus on his way, Calypso protests against the decision of the hard-hearted gods.

Both texts are clear and contain some interesting variations from the Oxford text of Homer, published in 1919. Thus in Book v, line 124, where Artemis is described as "of the golden throne in Ortygia" (Chrysothronos) the new manuscript has quite clearly the word Chrysorhoos, ie "golden flowing" (in Ortygia). The form Chrysorhoos is, so far as I know, unique, though χρυσορροας is known as the description of the Nile in the Egyptian hymn to Isis (Supp. Epigr, 8.549.17)¹. Then, on line 77 of Book ii, the Oxford text has the word ποτιπτυσσομεθα "clinging close to" or, in Lattimore's translation, "going through" the settlement (κατὰ ἄστν) "with claims made public", but the Q'asr Ibrim text has a present middle tense instead of an optative and a form nearer the more usual form of προπτυσσομαι². There are a number of other, smaller variants, such as in line 96 of Odyssey ii, Odysseus is described as δειος instead of διος, and αισιοι on line 87 replaces αἰτιοι, referring to the Achaean suitors. At present one cannot say how important these variations are, but they at least provide some new information about texts of Homer circulating in Egypt at the turn of the first century AD or a little earlier. After Homer the largest group of papyri are a series of Latin texts also in a very fragmentary state. Some of these appear to be of a military nature. On one fragment, apparently a letter, the word "legio" occurs, and on another, perhaps a list, there is reference to "beneficiarius". There is also a name, "Olympius".

¹ χρυσορροας is used by Hedylus (cf Athenaeum 8.345a) in third century BC. for Zeus descending in gold (ed. Kaibel, p.257).

² προπτυσσομεθα.

Finally, there is a fragment of a document which I was lucky enough to come upon myself while clearing the trench on the final day of the excavation, a strip of papyrus slightly singed some 10 cm x 3 cm, containing the opening lines of a letter of Latin, from "Varius to his friend Valerius" (Varius Valerio suo). The writing in black ink is in fine bold capitals, indicative of the first century AD. Some other fragments belonging to a number of different documents seem also to be remains of letters. Associated with the papyrus fragments were remains of at least two large bulbous amphorae made of hard brick-red ware, lying broken on their sides on the limestone shelf at the bottom of the deposit. No parallel to these wares has yet been found at Ibrim.

It is, of course, too early to comment on the significance of these discoveries. Their main interest lies in their date, fifty years either side of the beginning of the Christian era, and their discovery so far south of the frontier of the Empire. To find Homer at Ibrim is like finding Tacitus at Fort William. The first impression of a military list, if confirmed, would corroborate Strabo's account of the occupation of Ibrim by the troops of the Prefect of Egypt Petronius after his defeat of the Candyce in BC 23. They could be part of some Roman officer's library and records. But caution interposes. Documents like this could, as Professor Plumley has discussed with me, simply be lost, brought to Ibrim by its X-Group inhabitants at some much later date - though if this were the explanation, how did the Roman amphorae and other non X-Group Sherds associated with the finds come to be there? One must leave the matter open for future seasons' work. There is almost certainly more papyrus to be found in this deposit. Meantime, I am grateful

to the Egypt Exploration Society and particularly my colleague Professor Plumley for permission to report this to you, to Mme Trapman-Labouchere for devoted detective work in tracking down the lines of the Odyssey for me, and we shall look forward to Professor Turner's editio princeps in the next volume of JEA.

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

PROFESSOR W H C FREND

Summary:**R. Roca-Puig:****"New literary Latin texts in the Papyri Barcelonensis Collection: HEXAMETERS ON ALCESTIS"**

The four papyri folios P.Barcelona Inv. Nos. 158-161 written in Latin formed part of the same miscellaneous codex which contained Cicero I and II in Catilinam and the Psalmus responsorius.

The distribution of the handwriting and the size of the script is very similar to that of the Catilinarians.

The first six pages are entirely handwritten, the seventh has only four lines, the eighth is blank. The script follows the same canon of lettering and joinings we have commented on in the Psalmus. The state of preservation is good and the reading offers no difficulty with the exception of some letters which are somewhat imprecise in their shape.

In spite of it being hexameters, the writer does not distribute them one per each line. Letters follow one another without separation of words nor of verses as we have seen in Psalmus, which is also a composition in verse. The hexameters add up to some 120. We have not succeeded in determining their exact number since some of them are not complete and others have more words than required. Furthermore the text includes some marginal annotations. The metric rules are rigorously observed in a large number of hexameters. Those which do not subject to the "metrica" are frequently obscure and at times incomprehensible as to their sense and give the impression of being juxtaposed words.

A closer investigation, however, often results in discovering the original meaning, although the complete reconstruction, if realizable, may require imagination and an effort. We mention all this in the supposition that the author carried out an acceptable composition.

According to this hypothesis the present defects would be attributable to the transmission and would not only be imputable to the copy we possess but also to the copies which succeeded one after another since the beginning.

Limiting ourselves to our Codex the numerous erratas of the Catilinarians show that the person who copied P.Bar. had only a superficial knowledge of latin and that he made use of a manuscript full of errors and in addition torn or mutilated.

What has been said up to the present is only a hypothesis. There is a further possible hypothesis which would originate from an entirely opposite starting point.

Disregarding the important part of errors accumulated in the transmission of the text, the more serious defects would originate from the author himself. It would constitute an opus imperfectum of a simple unfinished school exercise. The incoherent passages might be due to the sorting out of available materials and subsequently not utilised. For some reason or other the poetical composition was abandoned before its termination. Admitting this hypothesis in its entirety, the efforts required to reconstruct the original would be similar to those required, for example, on an old painting of low artistic value, in which the skilled restaurator manages to produce a more perfect work than originally came out from the hands of its author.

We will divulge the text in its integrity and hope that the latinist experts will find a plausible explanation to this and other serious questions originating from the Hexameter on Alcestes.

By reason of its argument P.Bar. coincides in general lines with the legend which forms the background to Euripides tragedy and of Alceste and the Antologia Latina.

The poem starts with an invocation, difficult to recompose, owing to the condition of the text of the first lines. Admeto asks the God Apolo about his death decreed by the Parcas, Sorores. Apolo confirms the fatal ending which can only be averted if Admeto can find someone willing to die in his place. The unfortunate larem post dicta petit; Once back in his home his father enquires of him the reason for such deep grief, but when knowing of the decision of the gods refuses to die in lieu of Admeto. The latter appeals to his mother who not only rejects his son's supplication but renders him the object of severe invictives.

Very different is the attitude of Alcestis, who having overheard everything, offers herself willingly to die so that her husband Admeto may continue to live. She explains the reason for her way of acting demanding, however, that after her death Admeto may refrain from giving a step-mother to her children.

She herself prepares the funeral pyre on which her body will be burned. The sober description of Alcestis' death ends up the composition.

Virgil's influence is evident from the very start and first phrases, both in the structure of the hexameter as well as in the lexico. Once more it is evident that the author of the Eneida was the most read and appreciated of all the authors of the latin language.

GIOVANNI GERACI

Tema della presente comunicazione sarà una prima, rapida presentazione di alcuni documenti inediti, da tempo conservati nelle raccolte bolognesi, ma solo ora riscoperti, nell' ambito del rinnovato impulso che lo studio della Papirologia, intesa come disciplina soprattutto storica e documentaria, ha avuto a Bologna. Tale evento si è verificato in stretta dipendenza e connessione con l' istituzione, nella Facoltà di Lettere dell' Ateneo bolognese, del Corso di Laurea in Storia, indirizzo Antico, in cui la materia trova, finalmente, una particolare, eminente collocazione, come insegnamento fondamentale di tale indirizzo.

Tutti i documenti che passerò qui in rassegna si trovano tuttora sottoposti a vaglio e ad attento e approfondito studio e saranno da me editi, con adeguato commento, nel più breve tempo possibile. Non ho, pertanto, la pretesa di presentare, per essi, letture definitive. E' mio proposito, soltanto, segnalare, per mezzo loro, alla cortese e benevola attenzione degli Illustri Colleghi il risveglio sempre più consistente della tradizione papirologica dell' Ateneo bolognese, da tempo sopita, i risultati da essa conseguiti, le sue speranze per il futuro.

Il primo documento che desidero illustrare non fa parte della nota raccolta dei Papyri Bononienses, attualmente conservata nella Sala Manoscritti della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. Esso, trasferito dall' Egitto a Bologna molto tempo fa, in circostanze e per tramiti non ancora ben noti, confluisce ivi in patrimonio privato. Proprio in virtù dell' interesse suscitato, negli ambienti colti bolognesi, dall' indirizzo Antico del Corso di Laurea in Storia e dalla disciplina papirologica, da me insegnata, il documento, di cui si ignorava completamente l' esistenza, è stato segnalato e, successivamente, donato all' Istituto di Storia Antica, al quale l' insegnamento fa capo. Sarà, perciò, citato con la sigla P. Bon. ISA, 1 (nella quale ISA è, appunto, abbreviazione di Istituto di Storia Antica), al fine di distinguere la raccolta dell' Istituto da quella dei P. Bon., in precedenza ricordata.

Il papiro, di colore giallo chiaro, è alto cm. 25,4 e largo cm. 10,7 ed è scritto su entrambe le facce. Ignota è la sua provenienza. La faccia perfibrata, sulla quale mi soffermerò, contiene due colonne di scrittura, vergate, con calamo di media grossezza e con inchiostro nero assai opaco, in una corsiva con qualche legatura, da persona avvezza a maneggiare la penna con sicurezza e disinvoltura. I ti=

pi e le forme grafiche sembrano suggerire una datazione alla fine del II secolo d.C. o, più probabilmente, alla prima metà del III secolo d.C.

Della prima colonna sono assai spesso conservate solo le lettere finali delle parole. E', invece, quasi totalmente visibile la prima linea di essa, nella quale è registrato l'argomento della sezione a noi rimasta: [πο]ταμῶν μέγιστον. Nel papiro, in effetti, si conta la menzione di ben cinquantanove corsi d'acqua, anche se i nomi di molti di essi sono, purtroppo, irrimediabilmente mutili, ed altri quasi completamente svaniti e perciò illeggibili, almeno senza il ricorso a mezzi tecnici, quali la fotografia ai raggi infrarossi o ultravioletti.

Alcuni dei nomi che mi è stato possibile decifrare e localizzare topograficamente sono: nella prima colonna, [Δάν]ον Βύς, [Μα]ρσῦς, Εἰς ῥῶτις; nella seconda colonna, Σαγγάριος, Ὑδατις per Ὑδασις, Τύρρις, Βάλισσος, Ἀχελῷος, Πηνιός, Εἰρήνος, Ἀρπασός, Ἰλυσός, Εἰς ἐν μέδων, ῥῶνταχος probabilmente per ῥῶντακος, Ἡεν[δαρός], Σι[φόεις], Γράνικος, Ἀνδρηίς forse per Ἀνδρεος, Ἰνδός, Εἰς ἔμηνος. Si può notare immediatamente che l'orizzonte geografico dello scrivente, come spesso si verifica nella cultura greca d'Egitto, è sostanzialmente non egiziano, ma sembra piuttosto orientato verso una prospettiva greco-asiatica. L'elenco non pare, tuttavia, rispondere ad alcun ordine preciso, né a quello alfabetico né a quello topografico, benché all'interno di esso, su tale base, qualche raggruppamento o associazione mentale possono essere postulati.

L'esame della scrittura, di persona non alle prime armi, sembra escludere, per il documento, il carattere di esercitazione scolastica di educazione primaria e riferirlo, invece, ad un livello di cultura superiore (1). Il suo contenuto, comunque, pare rappresentativo, più che dell'orizzonte personale di chi lo redasse, di quel bagaglio di cognizioni geografiche, già topiche e stereotipe, sia in se stesse, sia al fine di intendere i testi letterari (2), proprie dell'ambiente socio-culturale ellenizzato di cui egli faceva parte. La lista che qui compare, tuttavia, sembra rivelare, in prevalenza, un interesse geografico vero e proprio. I nomi dei corsi d'acqua, in essa raccolti, ricorrono, infatti, assai raramente nell'epica e nella mitografia e sono, invece, frequenti nelle opere degli storici e dei geografi.

Non risulta che lo studio della geografia fosse particolarmente coltivato nelle scuole greche d'Egitto, pur se la mancanza di dati in questo senso può essere condizionata dal fatto che esso avveniva oralmente e non per iscritto (3). Tale osservazione, d'altro canto, ben si accorda con lo scarso numero di scritti geografici giunti fino a noi per via papiracea, quale traspare dalle tavole redate dal prof. Willis e dalla prof. Montevicchi (4), anche se va tenuto presente l'estremo pericolo a cui ci si espone, quando si

vogliono generalizzare dati che possono dipendere solo dalla capricciosità e sporadicità dei ritrovamenti e, soprattutto, che in nessun caso può essere impunemente applicato l'argumentum ex silentio.

Le due sole liste di fiumi, di epoca anteriore alla nostra, trovate nei papiri e finora edite, risalgono all'età tolemaica. La seconda in ordine di tempo, quella che compare nei Laterculi Alexandrini, del II-I secolo a.C., rappresenta un prodotto provincializzato e adattato ad uso scolastico di quello sforzo di canonizzazione, di classificazione e di cernita del patrimonio di conoscenze dell'epoca classica, operato dall'erudizione alessandrina (5). Non va dimenticato, a questo proposito, che tale impegno di catalogazione, che si può far risalire a Callimaco e alla sua scuola, trasparve anche in opere di contenuto dotto, tutta una serie delle quali aveva per oggetto i fiumi, sia con prospettive geografiche sia paradossografiche (6), il cui ricordo è ancora vivo in P. Oxy., XV, 1802 (7), del II-III secolo d.C.

La lista, il cui argomento è precisato in modo analogo a quello del nostro papiro, ποταμοὶ αἱ μέγιστοι, segue un ordinamento geografico abbastanza stretto, che va da occidente ad oriente, lungo tutto l'arco del bacino del Mediterraneo. Tuttavia, dei corsi d'acqua che in essa figurano, solo pochissimi ricorrono anche nel nostro documento.

Da una tradizione forse meno erudita, ma ampiamente imbevuta di cognizioni geografiche proprie della prima età ellenistica, nelle quali il ricordo della spedizione di Alessandro Magno pare trasparire, ancor vivo nelle memorie, sembra dipendere, invece, l'elenco che figura nel papiro scolastico (o, meglio, nel manuale del maestro) Guéraud-Jouquet (8), della fine del III secolo a.C. I fiumi in esso menzionati sono quasi tutti situati in Tracia, in Macedonia e in Asia e sono elencati senza alcun ordine, né alfabetico né topografico (9). In rapporto ai Laterculi Alexandrini, la lista sembra, dunque, riassumere i rudimenti geografici propri della cultura comune dei Greci d'Egitto. E' interessante notare che la quasi totalità dei corsi d'acqua in essa registrati, compaiono anche nel nostro papiro.

Una simile conservatività, a distanza di tanti secoli, non deve stupire. A chi consideri la cultura dei Greci d'Egitto, in età romana, appare netto il quadro di uno scibile cristallizzato e ripiegato su se stesso, ancorato, nel timore di essere sommerso dal contatto col mondo indigeno, a un patrimonio canonizzato e ormai inamovibile, nella sua decantata fissità. L'appoggio dato dai Romani all'elemento greco o grecizzato favorì ulteriormente la divisione tra le due culture (10). L'ellenismo trovò le sue roccaforti e le sue armi di difesa, sul piano culturale, nel ginnasio e nella scuola. L'uno, rimasto, almeno in linea di diritto, chiuso agli indigeni (11), non fu mai autentico veicolo di diffusione e di propagazione della greicità in ambiente egizio, ma piuttosto elemento di conservatività e di separazione. L'altra, col suo metodo di apprendimento sempre

identico, con l' immutabilità degli autori studiati (12), assolve, ben più capillarmente, il compito di conservare intatto un patrimonio culturale e di trasmetterlo, senza notevoli variazioni, per lungo tempo.

Ognuno dei nomi dei corsi d' acqua, che compaiono nella seconda colonna del nostro papiro, è preceduto da un simbolo grafico, spesso assai complesso e composto di più elementi. Alcuni di essi, anche se non tutti, paiono ricordare caratteri demotici. Tuttavia, come mi hanno confermato i colleghi demotisti, che qui ringrazio, non si può parlare, a loro proposito, di parole demotiche, ma, tutt' al più, di simboli che possono richiamare una remota ispirazione demotica. E' da scartare, quindi, l' eventualità di una trascrizione demotica dei nomi dei corsi d' acqua. Un' ipotesi del genere, d' altro canto, sarebbe parsa sorprendente a chi consideri la limitatissima diffusione del bilinguismo grafico greco-demotico, anche se una più ampia estensione è, forse, da postulare per quanto concerne i casi di bilinguismo parlato (13).

Altra soluzione è che si abbia a che fare con simboli numerici, del tipo di quelli che compaiono in PSI, III, 250, del III-IV secolo d.C. L' ipotesi mi pare, tuttavia, non soddisfacente e scarsamente probabile, soprattutto perché non si ravvisano notevoli somiglianze tra tali segni e quelli che ricorrono nel nostro papiro.

Credo si possa anche escludere, per l' eccessiva complessità dei simboli, che si tratti di segni critici, usati per segnalare, diversificandoli, i vari corsi d' acqua e per raccordare ciascuno di essi, mediante un simbolo, ad un altro testo, vergato su un diverso foglio di papiro e contenente commenti o spiegazioni particolari sui singoli fiumi (14).

L' ipotesi più convincente è, allora, che si abbia a che fare con simboli tachigrafici (15). Saremmo, in questo caso, al cospetto di un sillabario; di una parte di esso, tuttavia, non a livello elementare, bensì corrispondente a un grado di istruzione molto avanzato, quasi di un vero e proprio lessico tachigrafico. Per quanto paia strano che si avvertisse l' esigenza di abbreviare i nomi dei fiumi, il cui uso doveva essere non molto frequente, il fenomeno non è privo di attestazioni, se alcuni corsi d' acqua, qualcuno dei quali ricorre anche nel nostro papiro, compaiono nel commentario, ordinato a sistema tetradico, edito nei Greek Shorthand Manuale del Milne, ad esempio ai nn. 304, 364, 439, 517, 605, 607, 794.

Il documento è, allora, con ogni probabilità, una esercitazione di istruzione personale, a livello superiore, di uno stenografo ormai provetto o di un maestro di tachigrafia, addestratosi ad abbreviare i nomi dei corsi d' acqua, dopo averne composto un elenco, spulciando e compulsando lessici geografici o altre liste consimili (16). Non si può escludere, neppure, che si tratti di un tentativo di creare, per sé o per il proprio insegnamento, una serie di simboli, elaborata ex novo.

La seconda serie di documenti bolognesi, essa pure inedita, è venuta alla luce nel corso dei lavori di restauro e di completo riordinamento della raccolta dei Papyri Bononienses. E' noto che la collezione prese corpo nell' agosto del 1930 e fu inventariata, nel dicembre dello stesso anno, sotto la direzione della prof. Medea Norsa. Varie difficoltà ed ostacoli innumerevoli precedettero la sua pubblicazione; tuttavia, nel 1946-47, l' impresa fu, infine, patrocinata da Giovan Battista Pighi, allora ordinario di Letteratura Latina a Bologna. Egli affidò la pubblicazione alla prof. Montevicchi che, nel 1953, dava l' opera alle stampe. Nello stesso anno ella teneva, nell' Ateneo bolognese, un corso libero di Papirologia, l' unico ivi mai condotto prima dell' attuale ripresa.

Dopo l' edizione, la raccolta cadde nell' oblio più profondo e nella più penosa trascuratezza. I papiri furono accatastati, alla rifusa, sui ripiani dei banconi laterali della Sala Manoscritti della Biblioteca Universitaria. Così, inconsultabili, pieni di polvere, coi vetri spesso infranti, rimasero fino al 1970, quando furono rivisti dalla prof. Montevicchi e da me. In quell' anno, infatti, potemmo finalmente ottenere l' autorizzazione a compierne il restauro. Esaurito tale intervento, fu mia cura procedere ad una nuova, dignitosa sistemazione del materiale in uno scaffale a cassettini amovibili, appositamente progettato per rispondere alle particolari esigenze presentate dalla collezione, con un ordinamento numerico che seguisse quello dell' edizione della prof. Montevicchi, ponendo così fine alle lunghe e fastidiose confusioni create dalla connessione con il medesimo papiro di tre diversi riferimenti numerici, cioè quello di ingresso nella Biblioteca, quello dell' inventario fatto dalla Norsa nel 1930 e quello, infine, del catalogo definitivo della raccolta. Ho insistito, inoltre, perché tutti i testi fossero fotografati, operazione che non era mai stata eseguita. Si è ovviato, così, ad una omissione purtroppo grave, perché, nel frattempo, alcune parti di qualche documento erano svanite. D' altro canto, dal restauro e dalla pulitura dei papiri è emersa la possibilità di correggere e migliorare alcune letture incerte e di recuperare qualche frammento non visto. E' mia speranza che possa presto presentarsi l' opportunità, soprattutto finanziaria, che permetta di porre a disposizione degli studiosi un fascicolo che raccolga, insieme alle riproduzioni fotografiche dei testi, le correzioni per essi già proposte, nonché le nuove osservazioni, che il restauro ha consentito di compiere.

Il risultato più notevole, connesso al riordinamento della raccolta, è stato, tuttavia, il rinvenimento di un vetro, già perduto, e segnalato, nel primitivo inventario della Norsa, con il n. 29. Tale vetro, che la Montevicchi non riuscì a trovare (17), contiene tutta una serie di documenti amministrativi e fiscali, di epoca tolemaica, i quali si connettono strettamente, sia per quanto concerne la scrittura, sia per il contenuto, ai P. Bon., 11 e 12. Anche di essi sarà data, al più presto, una edizione.

Concludo questo panorama delle attività bolognesi con la notizia dell'incarico, affidatomi, di curare la pubblicazione della raccolta di epigrafi greche e latine, di epoca romana e di provenienza egizia, conservata nel Museo Civico di Bologna. Ad essa si raccorda la contemporanea edizione della ricca collezione di antichità egiziane, pure custodita nel Museo. Il nuovo Catalogo di questa, patrocinato dall'Istituto Storico Bolognese, si articolerà, secondo le previsioni, in dieci volumi e sarà curato dalla prof. Bresciani e dai suoi allievi, tra i quali il prof. Pernigotti, ora titolare dell'insegnamento di Egittologia a Bologna, e la dott. Giangeri. La pubblicazione congiunta del materiale egiziano e di quello greco-romano costituisce un interessante tentativo di impostare più stretti rapporti di collaborazione e raccordo tra discipline. Anche se, dai singoli commenti, emergerà il quadro di due civiltà sostanzialmente diverse, che solo a tratti e fuggevolmente si incontrano in campi limitati, nella ricostruzione della genesi dei vari nuclei della raccolta sarà possibile cogliere, da angolazioni diverse, ma in reciproca connessione, il multiforme panorama del collezionismo, delle conoscenze, del gusto e degli interessi colti per il mondo egizio nel corso del secolo XIX.

La raccolta greco-romana, composta in buona parte di iscrizioni funerarie, offre, inoltre, l'opportunità di studiare il materiale epigrafico in rapporto a quello papiraceo. Unica è la società in cui le due documentazioni si inseriscono, identici i problemi di lingua e di formulario coi quali si conettono, analoghi gli apporti che esse offrono, soprattutto alle ricerche prosopografiche ed onomastiche. Simile è, infine, l'orizzonte scrittoriale e grafico che esse presentano, anche se non identiche ne sono le realizzazioni pratiche, condizionate dal supporto materiale su cui le lettere sono tracciate (18).

Queste, per cenmi, le nuove iniziative intraprese a Bologna. Ci auguriamo che i risultati, dopo tanti anni di silenzio, non mancheranno. La solidarietà, la comprensione e la collaborazione degli Illustri Colleghi, che qui speriamo di aver sollecitato, saranno di stimolo per i molti giovani seri e appassionati che già perseguono, sotto la mia guida, questi studi e che, nonostante tutto, paiono far presagire un avvenire migliore in tempi che, sul piano culturale e degli studi classici, sembrano, spesso, senza speranza.

Note

(1) Cf., per questo problema, connesso coi testi scolastici, G. ZALATEO, Papiri scolastici, "Aegyptus", XLI (1961), pp. 163-165; H. -I. MARROU, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité, Paris 1965, pp. 229 ss.

(2) E' l'opinione di MARROU, Hist. de l'éducation, cit., pp. 253-254; cf., anche, O. GUÉRAUD - P. JOUGUET, Un livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J.-C., Le Caire 1938, p. 10.

(3) Cf. P. COLLART, A l'écolé avec les petits grecs d'Égypte,

"Chron. d'Ég.", XI (1936), p. 504; GUÉRAUD - JOUGUET, Livre d'écolier, cit., p. 10.

(4) Cf. W. H. WILLIS, A Census of the Literary Papyri from Egypt, "Gr. Rom. Byz. St.", IX (1968), p. 233; O. MONTEVECCHI, La Papirologia, Torino 1973, p. 363.

(5) Cf. H. DIELS, Laterculi Alexandrini, Abh. Königl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Berlin 1904; COLLART, A l'école, cit., pp. 504-505; cf. PACK², n. 2068. Cf., anche, introduzione a P. Oxy., X, 1241 (PACK², n. 2069) e a P. Tebt., III, 695 (PACK², n. 2071).

(6) Cf. W. SCHMID - O. STÄHLIN - W. VON CHRIST'S, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, II, 1, München 1920⁶, pp. 126-128, 237-244; A. LESKY, Storia della letteratura greca, III, Milano 1962, pp. 877-879; E. G. TURNER, L'érudition alexandrine et les papyrus, "Chron. d'Ég.", XXXVII (1962), pp. 135-152; E. A. PARSONS, The Alexandrian Library. Glory of the Hellenic World, New York 1967³, pp. 204-228; G. HUXLEY, Kallimachos, the Assyrian River and the Bees of Demeter, "Gr. Rom. Byz. St.", XII (1971), pp. 211-215.

(7) Fr. 3, col. III, ll. 69-70 e nota relativa (PACK², n. 2127).

(8) Ll. 48-66 (PACK², n. 2642). Vedi C. H. ROBERTS, Literature and Society in the Papyri, "Museum Helveticum", X (1953), pp. 265-266; MARROU, Hist. de l'éducation, cit., p. 235.

(9) Cf. GUÉRAUD - JOUGUET, Livre d'écolier, cit., pp. XXI e 10.

(10) Cf. ROBERTS, Literature and Society, cit., pp. 264-279; B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, Population et administration, "Museum Helveticum", X (1953), pp. 184-190; E. G. TURNER, Scribes and Scholars of Oxyrhynchus, Mitt. Pap. Erz. Rainer, N.S. W, Wien 1956, pp. 141-142; Cl. PRÉAUX, Papirologie et Sociologie, "Ann. Univ. Sarav., Philos. Fak.", VIII (1959), pp. 13-15; ID., Les continuités dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine, Actes X^e Congr. Int. Pap., Wroclaw 1964, pp. 241-246; MONTEVECCHI, La Papirologia, cit., p. 366.

(11) Cf. ROBERTS, Literature and Society, cit., pp. 272 ss.; J. SCHWARTZ, Papirologie et histoire culturelle (Époque romaine), "Ann. Univ. Sarav., Philos. Fak.", VIII (1959), pp. 81-84; J. LINDSAY, Daily Life in Roman Egypt, London 1963, pp. 59 ss.

(12) Cf. P. COLLART, A propos de quelques exercices scolaires, "BIFAO", XXX (1931), (Mélanges Loret), pp. 421-423; MARROU, Hist. de l'éducation, cit., p. 234; W. CLARYSSE - A. WOUTERS, A Schoolboy's Exercise in the Chester Beatty Library, "Ancient Society", I (1970), pp. 201-202 e bibliografia ivi citata, 232-233.

(13) Sulla limitata diffusione del bilinguismo grafico, si veda W. PEREMANS, Über die Zweisprachigkeit im ptolemäischen Ägypten, Festschrift Oertel, Bonn 1964, pp. 49-60. Cf. anche, tra l'altro, Cl. PRÉAUX, Lettres privées grecques d'Égypte relatives à l'éducation, "Revue belge de phil. et d'hist.", VIII (1929), pp. 767-772; F. BILABEL, Neue literarische Funde in der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung, Actes V^e Congr. Int. Pap., Bruxelles 1938, pp. 79-80 (PACK², n. 2157); Cl. PRÉAUX, Les Égyptiens dans la civilisation hellénistique d'Égy-

pte, "Chron. d' Ég.", XVII (1943), pp. 148-160; ID., Papyrologie et Sociologie, cit., pp. 13-15; ID., Les continuités, cit., pp. 231-248; R. REMONDON, Problèmes du bilinguisme dans l'Égypte Lagide, "Chron. d' Ég.", XXXIX (1964), pp. 126-146.

(14) Cf. TURNER, L'érudition alexandrine, cit., pp. 147-152; ID., Greek Papyri. An Introduction, Oxford 1968, pp. 112 ss.

(15) Per l'insegnamento della tachigrafia, cf. P. Oxy., IV, 724 (155 d.C.); H. J. M. MILNE, Greek Shorthand Manuals. Sillabary and Commentary, London 1934. Vedi anche L. PAPINI, Frammento di un manuale di tachigrafia, "St. Ital. di Filol. Class.", XLIII (1971), pp. 169-170.

(16) Cf. MILNE, Greek Shorthand Manuals, cit., p. 4.

(17) Cf. P. Bon., I, 11-12, Introduzione, p. 35.

(18) Cf., tra gli altri, J. MALLON, Paléographie des papyrus d'Égypte et des inscriptions du monde romain, "Museum Helveticum", X (1953), pp. 141-160.

Per l'epicureismo il rapporto medicina-filosofia è poco noto e certamente poco studiato. È una ricerca che deve essere fondata specialmente sui testi filodemei, ma non può prescindere da Epicuro, a cui il Bignone attribuì il ruolo di "direttore di coscienze"¹ e il Rabbow riconobbe di essere il "primo europeo che ha sviluppato la psicagogia attraverso metodici atti di presa di coscienza dall'esercizio d'imparare a memoria e l'ha esercitata nella sua comunità".² Di Epicuro medico dell'anima ha reso familiare l'immagine il Festugière.³ Ma è merito di W. Schmid⁴ aver trattato la filosofia etica di Epicuro come "guida dell'anima" realizzata dalla *θεραπεία* e dall'*ἄσκησις*.

È in questa prospettiva che mi accingo a indicare il ruolo della medicina nell'epicureismo. Epicuro aveva, certo, presente Democrito,⁵ quando affermava: "Vana è la parola di quel filosofo che non cura le passioni dell'uomo, perché come non è utile l'arte medica se non cura le malattie dei corpi, così neppure la filosofia è utile se non scaccia l'affezione dell'anima. Tale rapporto fra *φιλοσοφία* e *ιατρική* diventava in Epicuro ancora più specifico secondo la testimonianza di Diogene di Tarso: le *ἔρετα* si sgelgono per conseguire la *ἡδονή*, come l'arte medica per conseguire la *ὑγεία*.

Epicuro, che fu autore di un'opera Sulle malattie e la morte,⁹ proclamava che la salute del corpo è il risultato di una dieta semplice e frugale¹⁰ e che una *ἄπλανῆς θεωρία*¹¹ dei desideri sa riportare ogni scelta e ogni rifiuto *ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑγείαν καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀταραξίαν*, che è appunto il *τέλος* del viver beato.

L'assimilazione metaforica della terminologia medica è presente in due luoghi etici di Epicuro: all'inizio della Epistola a Meneceo:¹³ e in una Massima,¹⁴ dove il termine *ιατρική* è adoperato nella medesima accezione traslata da Aristotele.¹⁵ Ma in un'altra Massima¹⁶ *ὑγιαίνειν* senza la specificazione di *ψυχή* si riferisce alla salute dell'anima.

Nell'opera di Filodemo possiamo abbastanza puntualmente sorprendere il rapporto della filosofia con la medicina. Tale rapporto è evidente, specialmente, in opere come La libertà di parola o L'ira. Non è un caso però - pensiamo soprattutto al Gorgia - che nei libri Della retorica la terminologia di ascendenza medica vi si mostri assorbita con naturalezza⁷ e, soprattutto, che alla medicina si faccia riferimento in una linea - diciamo ippocratica - che Filodemo però mutuava dalle scuole di Platone e di Aristotele.

Nell'opera Sulla libertà di parola - che è anteriore all'opera Sull'ira - la medicina - nella terminologia e nella funzione - concorre a creare ed a configurare in modo coerente la visione etico-pedagogica della libertà di parola, quale tecnica volta alla franca individuazione degli *ἁμαρτήματα* o dei *πάθη* ed alla loro terapia. Sostanzialmente il filosofo educatore epicureo chiede anche alla medicina un modo di realizzare l'*ἐθνοτα* verso i giovani. Nella visione

eticopedagogica, quale Filodemo sviluppa nell'opera Sulla libertà di parola nell'orma delle lezioni di Zenone sidonio, non vi sono errori o colpe di cui non si possa guarire ed è possibile conseguire il progresso sul fondamento del reciproco e benevolo aiuto: l'allievo si confessa¹⁸ ed il maestro non lesina il suo²¹

συναίσθησθαι¹⁹ la sua συνέδησις²⁰ e, soprattutto, la sua συμπόθεια²¹. Nella dottrina e nella scuola epicurea non esistono ἀπόβατοι come non esistono ἀθεράπευτοι²², perché non y'è errore o passione che possa impedire la via alla sapienza.²² Come nell'Ira²³ troviamo gli ἀπόβατοι, nella Libertà di parola troviamo gli ἀθεράπευτοι²⁴: alcuni giovani non sono sottoposti a visita o esame oppure si presentano non suscettivi di cura, ἀθεράπευτοι appunto, almeno finché non sia avvenuta una prognosi che sia una plausibile individuazione del male.²⁵ Nel fr. 39 leggiamo che l'acquisto dei beni dipende dall'affidarsi ai maestri, quasi dal gettarsi nelle loro mani,²⁶ e commettere loro la cura dell'anima,²⁷ come la cura del corpo non è possibile ottenerla da sé senza ricorrere ai medici.²⁸ La terapia rappresentata in Filodemo è duplice: è medica o chirurgica. Essa attua la norma ippocratica²⁹ e possiamo sintetizzarla nella formula euripidea τὸματὶ ἢ ποτὰ φάρμακα³⁰ o platonica φάρμακα καὶ λατρικὰ ὄργανα³¹ oppure φάρμακόν τε καὶ τὸματὶ.³² In primo luogo viene il metodo purgativo. Filodemo accenna alla κάθαρσις nel fr. 46: essa è la purificazione degli errori del giovane non meno del maestro: il maestro non può odiare chi commette errori non disperati, perché egli sa che non è perfetto - anche egli può aver bisogno di κάθαρσις - e ricorda che tutti son soliti errare.³³ Il sapiente epicureo, che è puro (καθαρεύων), ama, è superiore e sa curare (γινώσκων θεραπεύειν).³⁴ La sua diagnosi³⁵ non può considerarsi assolutamente sicura, in quanto è fondata su sintomi non certi, ma plausibili³⁶; in base a tali 'segni' egli suppone (ὑπολαμβάνω) che il paziente abbia bisogno di una purga (κένωμα);³⁷ qualora la diagnosi sia errata, un'altra volta non rinuncia a purgarlo,³⁸ pur oppresso da altra malattia. In un altro caso, nella medesima malattia lo svuotamento del corpo, se non è ottenuto dal medico col clistere,³⁹ deve essere di nuovo sperimentato con un purgante.⁴⁰

Ma nell'opera Sulla libertà di parola vi sono altri farmaci, oltre i purganti. In primo luogo, l'assenzio.⁴¹ Il sapiente educatore di solito non schernisce né insulta, non è stizzoso né aspro né amaro.⁴² Ma vi sono circostanze in cui il sapiente tollera, suo malgrado, l'atteggiamento contrario improntato ad amarezza come l'assenzio.⁴³ Aristone di Chio stabilì una simiglianza tra l'asprezza dell'assenzio e la libertà di parola.⁴⁴ Si può ammettere un carattere tipico del confronto che ritorna nell'opera Sull'ira.⁴⁵ Lucrezio forse conosceva questi passi filodemici⁴⁶ quando trasponeva nell'amaro infuso dell'assenzio la dottrina epicurea, evocando, egli poeta magico non meno che psicagogo⁴⁷ e psicoterapeuta,⁴⁸ i medici che cospargendo di molle e biondo miele gli orli della tazza ingannano i giovani pazienti.⁴⁹

Un altro farmaco altrettanto amaro quanto l'assenzio, ricordato da Filodemo nella Libertà di parola, è l'elloboro di ascendenza ippocratica, emetico o purgante:⁵⁰ πίνοντας ἐλλέβορον.⁵¹

D'altra parte, come in Platone⁵² i medici cercano di dare agli ammalati il nu-

trimento utile con cibi e bevande dolci e fanno sentire di sgradito sapore il nutrimento dannoso, così in Filodemo⁵³ leggiamo: 'Sputa fuori o giovane, imperturbabilmente come cibo dallo strano sapore (tutto ciò che è estraneo alla nostra dottrina)!'.

Nella Libertà di parola appare anche il medico-chirurgo che sostituisce ai farmaci il bisturi. La situazione rappresentata da Filodemo nella col. XVIIa a me pare possa essere questa: talvolta i giovani si pungono eccessivamente nell'esercizio stesso della libertà di parola e il loro atteggiamento si rivela a loro stessi⁵⁴ erroneo. Allora dinanzi ai loro occhi si attua una mordace libertà di parola e presumono che non commetteranno più errori o non si accorgeranno di commetterne pur avendo errato molte volte: a tale punto critico essi chiamano il sapiente educatore perché ammonisca a non mordere e recida gli eccessi, come quando chiamano bravi medici per un'operazione chirurgica, perché con un colpo di bisturi guariscano gli ammalati. L'eccesso di parrhesia è come un bubbone o un tumore e il νοουθετεῖν⁵⁵ è come una dissezione. Di solito la mordacità è un requisito della varia tecnica parrhesiastica del sapiente,⁵⁶ ma qui è esercitata dai giovani e diventa una malattia bisognosa di un intervento drastico: ἀλλ' ὅταν τὴν διάθεσιν αὐτῶν ἀμαρτωλὸν ἐπιβλέψῃσι δάκνονται: καὶ ἡμαθέρῃ σοφοῦσ λατροῦσ ἐπὶ διατρέσειν παρακαλοῦντες ὅταν δῶσι τὸ ζμίλιον νοσοῦσιν, οὕτως ὅταν κού- τῶν τὸ δῆκτικὸν ἐν ὄμματι γένηται τῆσ παρρησίας καὶ νομίζουσιν οὐθέν ἀμάρτημα ποιῆσειν, ἢ λήσσειν καὶ πολλὰ κισ ἡμαρτηκότασ, παρακαλοῦσι νοουθετεῖν.

Il logos dell'educatore è simile ad un farmaco⁵⁷ o ad uno strumento chirurgico. L'educatore epicureo, che proprio in quanto è un ammonitore fugcioso, si muove nell'orma dei fondatori della dottrina obbedendo ad Epicuro,⁵⁸ non imita però solo e lungamente i suoi predecessori,⁵⁹ ma i medici che curano anche colui che in base a probabili indizi è ritenuto non poter essere liberato dalla malattia.⁶⁰ Anche nell'Ira Filodemo paragona le malattie del corpo a quelle dell'anima: poiché non sempre i mali sono noti agli ammalati che perciò li trascurano, il medico li pone dinanzi ai loro occhi e li rende solleciti alla terapia;⁶¹ così anche i mali connessi con le malattie dell'animo⁶² sono spesso ignorati ed anche i filosofi, come i medici, devono rimproverare.⁶² Ma come solo coloro che sanno soccorrere sulla base di plausibili indizi possono allontanare i mali fisici, così anche solo i filosofi sanno liberare l'anima dalle affezioni, come l'ira, dovute a false opinioni.⁶³ Nella concezione epicurea il giovane affida la terapia degli errori all'ammonimento del sapiente concepito quale autentico 'salvatore', unico guaritore.⁶⁴ Il sapiente epicureo libera l'anima dalle passioni⁶⁵ e tale è il valore del modello medico che il sapiente epicureo θεραπεύει,⁶⁶ γινώσκει θεραπεύειν.⁶⁷ Il sapiente epicureo sembra veramente interpretare il ruolo del libero medico rappresentato da Platone⁶⁸ come curatore di uomini liberi: οὐκ λατρεύει τὸν νοσοῦντα, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν παιδεύει.⁶⁹

- I. E. BIGNONE, L'Aristotele perduto e la formazione filosofica di Epicuro (1936), I (Firenze, 1973²), p. 123 ss., II, p. 236 ss. Cf. anche R. MONDOLFO, La comprensione del soggetto umano nella antichità classica (Buenos Aires 1955), Firenze 1958, pp. 503-512, sp. p. 508.
2. P. RABOW, Seelenführung. Methodik der Exerzition in der Antike (München 1954), p. 130.
3. A.J. FESTUGIERE, Epicuro e i suoi dei (1946), tr. it. (Brescia 1952) sp. p. 77 n. 44, p. 84 ss.
4. W. SCHMID, Epikur, RAC V (1961), pp. 740-746.
5. Democr. fr. 68 D.-K.
6. Epic. fr. 221 US. = 2 DIANO = 247 ARRIGHETTI² (= Porphy., Ad Marc. 31); cf. SCHMID, art. cit. 716.
7. Su costui v. ARNIM, RE V I (1903), 776 s.
8. Epic. fr. 504 US. = p. 31 ARRIGHETTI² (= D.L. X 138).
9. Epic. fr. 18 ARRIGHETTI².
10. Epic. Ep. Men. 131: τὸ συνεθίζειν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἀπλαῖς καὶ οὐ πολυτελεῖσι διαίταις καὶ ὑγιεῖαις ἐστὶ συμπληρωτικόν...
- II. Il RABOW, Seelenführung p. 337 pone insieme a tale locuzione διαλαμβάνειν, κατανοεῖν, σφοδρῶς, καταγαγῶν : tali termini designano l'imparare a memoria.
12. Epic. Ep. Men. 128.
13. Epic. Ep. Men. 122.
14. Epic. SV 64.
15. Arist. EN II 52b 32: λατρεία οὐκ ἐνεκεν . Riferito ἀπειθυμία Polit. I 267a 7, ἀμαρτία ibid. I 272b 2. Cf. anche Plut., de garrulitate 510 c, de cohib. ira 453 c (δὲλεθρήμων ὡς περ λατρεῖαν τινὰ σεαυτοῦ).
16. Epic. SV 54 (fr. 220 Us.).
17. Philod., Volumina Rhetorica ed. SUDHAUS, I p. 261, 264, 293, 307, 329, 345; II p. 9, 31, 150. Esempi di linguaggio medico trasposto in filosofico non mancano in altre opere di Filodemo: cf. De lib. dic. XII b 10 (καταναρκῶσθαι cf. Epic. SV II ναρκῶν); De mus. p. 69 KEMKE: ἰσθηνοὶ non guariscono dal dolore (οὐδὲν λατρεύειν τῆς λύπης), etc.
18. Tuttavia la traduzione del MONDOLFO, La comprensione cit. p. 508, di Παρὶ παρησίαις Sulla confessione è metastorica.
19. Philod., De lib. dic. fr. 1.
20. Philod., De lib. dic. fr. 67.
21. Philod., De lib. dic. 43 e 79, 9-II (ἀλλὰ συνπαθῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας ὑπολαμβάνειν).
22. Epic. fr. 587 US. = D.L. X II 7: οὐκ εἰς ἐμποδίσαι πρὸς τὴν σοφίαν.
23. Philod., De ira XIX 12 ss. WILKE.
24. L'aggettivo si rinviene con [ταραχῆ] in De dis I 15, 26 DIELS (le bestie

- non hanno un rimedio per l'inquietudine... almeno fin quando non possono mutare la loro natura bestiale)..
25. De lib. dic. fr. 84, 8 ss. OL.
 26. Alla l. 4 s. è forse da supplire [ἐαυτοῦ] οὐκ ἐπιφρόπειν, non con l'Olivieri [τὰ ἐαυτοῦ] οὐκ ἐπιφρόπειν, cf. PHILIPPSON, "Berl. Philol. Woch." 1916, 684. Per l'accezione traslata ma ostile di ἐπιφρόπτω, cf. Aeschyl., Prom. 737 s.
 27. Cf. Plat., Prot. 313 a b.
 28. L. 12 s. μὴ τῶν λατρῶν ἐν ἀπαισιν χρεῖαν . Cf. Plat., Rep. 373d: λατρῶν ἐν χρεῖαις ἐσόμεθα.
 29. Hippocr., De victu I, c. 15.
 30. Eurip. fr. 403, 6 N² V. anche fr. 1072.
 31. Plat., Polit. 298 c: χρὴ τοῖς φαρμάκοις ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῖς λατρικοῖς βραβείοις πρὸς τοὺς κίμωντας χρῆσθαι.
 32. Plat., Rep. 407d: φαρμάκοις τε καὶ τομαῖς τὰ νοσήματα ἐκβάλλοντα αὐτῶν, 406 d: τέκτων μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, κίμων ἀξιοῦ παρὰ τοῦ λατροῦ φαρμακονακίων ἐξεμεῖσαι τὸ νόσημα, ἢ κάτω καταρθεῖς ἢ καύσει ἢ τομῇ χρῆσάμενος ἀπελλάχθαι.
 33. L. 10 s. πάντες ἀμαρτάνειν εἰσέσασιν . Ricordo solo Menandro fr. 432 K.-T.: ἔνθαρος ὡν ἤραρον: οὐ θαυμαστόν.
 34. De lib. dic. fr. 44, 6 ss. OL.
 35. Fr. 63, 8 OL. Il significato medico di σημεῖωσις è assicurato da Galen. 19. 394.
 36. Fr. 63, 5 διὰ σημεῖων εὐλόγων : per il significato medico di σημεῖον, cf. Hipp., Morb. 3.6.15, Galen. I 313, 18(2). 306.
 37. Fr. 63, 6 s. προσδεῖσθαι τούτων τινὰ κενώματος Il termine κένωμα - che nel De signis XXXVI 1 (τὸ διὰ κενωμάτων) vale 'spazio vuoto' - qui significa 'purga' (Dioscor., De mat. med. 5, 11; Plut., mor. 381 d).
 38. Fr. 63, 9 κενῶσαι : per tale verbo - contrario è πληροῦν - cf. Hipp., Aph. 2, 51; Galen. 4. 709.
 39. Cf. Galen. 10. 358.
 40. De lib. dic. fr. 64, 5 ss.: καὶ γὰρ λατρός ἐστὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νόσου διὰ κλυομένης οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς ἀλγίας, ἀλλὰ κενῶσθαι.
 41. Per l'assenzio, cf. Hippocr., Morb. 3.11; Mul. 1.74.
 42. Philod., De lib. dic. II a.
 43. Philod., De lib. dic. II b 3-7.
 44. Aristo Chius fr. 383 (SVF I, p. 88): ἐκ τῶν Ἀρίστωνος ὁμοιωμάτων. Ὅμοιον ἀφιν= ἴσου τὸ δορμὸν καὶ λόγου παρησίαν ἐκκῶσαι.
 45. Philod., De ira XLIV 15-21.

46. Oltre ad aver presente Plat., Lg. 659 e, come suggerisce A. ERNOUT, Lucrèce. De la nature, t. I (Paris 1946¹), p. 64, n. 1. Ma forse bisogna supporre all'origine la medesima fonte di ps.-Plut., De lib. ed. 13 ἀ: καὶ καθάπερ Ιατροὶ τὰ πικρὰ τῶν φαρμάκων τοῖς γλυκέσι χυμοῖς καταπιγνύντες τὴν τέρψιν· εἰ τὸ συμφέρον πάροδον εὖρον, οὕτω δεῖ τοὺς πατέρας τὴν τῶν ἐπιτιμημάτων ἀποτομίαν τῆς πραότητι μίγνυται...
47. Sulla funzione psicagogica del poema cf. ora P.H. SCHRIJVERS, Horror ac divina voluptas. Études sur la poétique et la poésie de Lucrèce (Amsterdam 1970), su cui v. O.R. BLOCH, "Gnomon" 1972, pp. 27-34.
48. Lucr. III 1053 - 1089: cf. Lukrez, Ueber die Seele und den Tod, lat. und deutsch in prosa uebertragen v.G.SPRANDEL(Darmstadt 1963), pp.98-101.
49. Lucr., De r. n. I 936-938 = IV 11-13. Sono versi citati da Quintiliano, Inst. or. III 1,5. Ma va tenuto presente tutto il contesto dove ritorna l'assenzio (v. 940 s. 'interca perpotet amarum / absinthi laticem'). Per il v. I 934, cf. J.M. SNYDER, The Meaning of Musaeo contingens cuncta lepore, "Class. World" 1973, pp. 330-334. Per il topos assenzio miele, cf. Comparatio Menandri et Philistionis I 228; II 104; III 34 (ed. S. JAEKEL, Lipsiae 1964).
50. Cf. Hippocr., De victu I 35, Epid. VII 45.
51. Philod., De lib. dic. p. 68 OL. Cf. Plut., Quom. adul. ab amico internoscatur 55b, De cohib. ira 453 d e: ὁ γὰρ ὡς ἐλλέβορον, οἶμαι, δεῖ θεραπεύσαντα συνεκφέρεσθαι τῆ νοσήματι τὸν λόγον· ἀλλ' ἐμμένοντα τῆ ψυχῆ συνέχειν τὰς κρίσεις καὶ φυλάσσειν.
V. anche Hor., sat. II 3, 82; epist. II 2, 137 col comm. di KIESSLING-HEINZE (ed. di E. BURCK, Berlin 1957).
52. Plat., Lg. 659e - 660a.
53. Philod., De lib. dic. fr. 18, 1-3.
54. Alla l. 2 scrivo αὐτῶν, non αὐτῶν con l'Olivieri.
55. Per il ruolo della νοουθήτησις nella concezione epicurea della parrhesia, cf. M. GIGANTE, Ricerche Filodemee, pp. 55-57.
56. Cf. De lib. dic. fr. 16,2 s., VIII b 11 e XXII a 7. Per δηκτικόν, cf. anche De ira XXXVIII 7. Cf. Plut., Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 55 b (λόγος δηκτικός).
57. Per i farmaci drastici o forti e farmaci deboli, cf. Galen., compos. medicam. 2, p. 590 KÜHN.
58. De lib. dic. fr. 45.
59. De lib. dic. V a 7-10.
60. De lib. dic. fr. 69, 4 ss. OL.
61. Philod., De ira IV, ed. WILKE.
62. Philod., De ira V.
63. Philod., De ira VI. Per il tema 'cura dell'ira' nell'antichità rimando a H. RINGELTAUBE, Quaestiones ad veterum philosophorum de affectibus doctrinam pertinentes, Diss. Gotting. 1913; P. RABBOW, Antike Schriften über Seelenheilung und Seelenleitung auf ihre Quellen untersucht, I. Die Therapie des Zorns (Berlin 1914); H.G. INGENKAMP, Plutarchs Schriften über die Heilung der Seele (Hypomnemata, 34), Göttingen 1971.
64. Philod., De lib. dic. fr. 40. Cf. anche SCHMID, l.c. 746-750.
65. Philod., De lib. dic. fr. 66.
66. De lib. dic. fr. 23, 5 s.; fr. 40, 79, XXI b 2.
67. De lib. dic. fr. 44, 8-9.
68. Plat., Lg. 857 d.
69. La redazione completa della presente comunicazione apparirà in "Cerc" 5 (1975).

BEOBACHTUNGEN ZUM GEBRAUCH MAKEDONISCHER MONATSNAMEN IN RÖMISCHER ZEIT

Ursula Hagedorn

Als die makedonischen Eroberer die Herrschaft in Ägypten übernahmen, führten sie mit dem Griechischen als neuer Amtssprache auch ihren heimischen Kalender ein, der allerdings den ägyptischen niemals ersetzen sollte, sondern nur als konkurrierendes System neben ihm bestand. Da sich das ägyptische Sonnenjahr als erheblich praktischer und überschaubarer erwies als das makedonische Mondjahr mit seinen jahreszeitlichen Verschiebungen, geriet letzteres im Laufe des zweiten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. allmählich ganz ausser Gebrauch. Offenbar bestand aber ein Interesse daran, nicht mit dem makedonischen Jahreskalender auch die makedonischen Monatsnamen in Vergessenheit geraten zu lassen; so entschloss man sich, die makedonischen Monate in eine feste Beziehung zu den ägyptischen zu setzen. Alan E. Samuel hat den Vorgang in seiner "Ptolemaic Chronology" ausführlich behandelt. Ein erster Versuch zur Harmonisierung wurde danach vermutlich schon vor 200 begonnen; er hielt sich über siebzig Jahre lang, bis er zwischen 130 und 118 v. Chr. von einem anderen System abgelöst wurde. Im Gegensatz zu dem ersten Versuch ging man bei dem zweiten vom jeweiligen Jahresanfang aus, setzte den Dios, den ersten Monat des makedonischen Jahres, dem Thoth gleich, den Apellaios dem Phaophi usw. Dieses zweite Harmonisierungssystem hat sich anscheinend schnell und vollständig durchgesetzt. Bereits im ersten Jahrhundert v. Chr. finden wir keine Spur des alten Kalenders mehr, noch auch des früheren Ansatzes zur Harmonisierung.

Auf diese Weise haben sich die makedonischen Monatsnamen nicht nur bis ans Ende der Ptolemäerzeit erhalten, sondern merkwürdigerweise weit darüber hinaus, nämlich bis ins vierte nachchristliche Jahrhundert. Sie haben damit sogar die Monatsnamen überdauert, die zu verschiedenen Zeiten zu Ehren gewisser römischer Kaiser oder ihrer Angehörigen eingeführt worden waren, und das, obwohl wir einige von diesen, z. B. den Sebastos, den Kaisareios oder den Hadrianos, zeitweilig viel häufiger vorfinden als die makedonischen Namen selbst in ihrer Gesamtheit. Dieser Tatbestand wirft verschiedene Fragen auf: Warum werden auch nach dem Untergang der ptolemäischen Dynastie makedonische Monatsnamen verwendet, von wem und wie? Lässt sich eine historische Entwicklung ausmachen, oder bleibt der Gebrauch während der Kaiserzeit konstant?

Um die letzte Frage gleich vorweg zu beantworten: Eine Entwicklung lässt sich nur bezüglich der Häufigkeit des Auftretens erkennen. Um diese zu berechnen, habe ich die schöne Übersicht benutzt, die Paul Bureth in "Les Titulatures imperiales", Brüssel 1964, anhangsweise unter dem Titel "Repartition chronologique" zusammengestellt hat. Wenn man auf dieser Basis jeweils die Zeugnisse aus fünfzig Jahren zueinander in Beziehung setzt, gelangt man zu folgendem Er-

gebnis: Zu Beginn der Kaiserzeit finden wir in mehr als zweieinhalb Prozent der datierten Urkunden makedonische Monatsbezeichnungen; dieser Anteil sinkt kontinuierlich auf weniger als ein Prozent in der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts, steigt schliesslich noch einmal auf nahezu zwei Prozent während des dritten Jahrhunderts; allerdings ist in dieser Zeit bei solchen Kalkulationen schon grosse Vorsicht geboten: Angesichts der geringen Zahl der aus dem dritten Jahrhundert überhaupt erhaltenen datierten Urkunden muss man damit rechnen, dass das Ergebnis zufällig ist und nicht dem tatsächlichen Anteil entspricht. Aus dem vierten Jahrhundert gibt es dann nur noch vereinzelte Belege, den letzten sicheren, P.Theadelphia Nr.1, von 306. Damit hört die Verwendung makedonischer Monatsbezeichnungen in Ägypten auf. Aus all diesen Berechnungen erkennt man vor allem eines: Eigentlich zahlreich waren die Urkunden während der Kaiserzeit nie, in denen die alten Monatsnamen gebrauch wurden. Heute sind uns noch insgesamt etwa 180 Belegstellen erhalten. Daraus ergibt sich als nächstes die Frage: Was für Texte sind das? Haben sie vielleicht in irgendeiner Hinsicht etwas Gemeinsames? Die Antwort ist verblüffend schnell gefunden: Es sind ausschliesslich sogenannte Staatsnotariatsurkunden, wie sie Paul Meyer in den "Juristischen Papyri" 1920 beschrieben hat, das heisst: Privatverträge, die in einer staatlichen Kanzlei ausgefertigt und beglaubigt worden sind. Kein privater Brief, keine offizielle Korrespondenz findet sich darunter, keine Petition, kein Beamtenbericht, aber auch keine Privaturkunde, die in einer anderen Form abgefasst wäre. Die äussere Gestalt dieser Verträge und ihre Variationsmöglichkeiten hat Mrs. Husseman im 2. Kapitel der Einleitung zu Bd.V der Michigan Papyri ausführlich und übersichtlich dargestellt; unter die von ihr gefundenen Regeln lassen sich sämtliche mir bekannten Urkunden subsumieren, welche mithilfe makedonischer Monate datiert sind. Andererseits bietet natürlich nur ein Bruchteil dieser Urkundengruppe makedonische Monatsnamen, viele verwenden römische Ehrennamen, viele begnügen sich auch mit den einfachen ägyptischen. Die allgemeine Gestalt dieser Urkunden ist folgende: Sie beginnen mit Datum und Ort, gefolgt zuweilen von der Angabe der ausstellenden Notariatskanzlei. Dann schliesst sich der eigentliche Vertragstext an in Form einer Homologie oder eines Protokolls. In manchen Urkunden fehlt dieser Teil, es ist dann normalerweise ein Spatium für seine eventuelle spätere Eintragung freigelassen. Es folgen diesem Hauptteil die Subskriptionen einer oder beider vertragschliessenden Parteien, die mehr oder minder ausführlich den in der dritten Person gehaltenen Vertragstext in der ersten Person wiederholen. Da man, wenn man den eigentlichen Vertragstext erst später einfügen wollte, die Subskription recht ausführlich halten musste, um aus ihr alle notwendigen Angaben entnehmen zu können, entsteht in diesem Fall bisweilen leicht der Eindruck einer subjektiv stilisierten Urkunde. Der gewöhnlich gesondert datierte Registrationsvermerk der Kanzlei findet sich entweder vor der Subskription oder am Kopf oder Ende des Blattes; häufig fehlt er auch gänzlich. Was nun den Gebrauch makedonischer Monatsnamen in diesen Urkunden angeht, so ist zweierlei zu bemerken: Erstens finden sie sich ausschliesslich in der feier-

lichen Datierung am Kopf des Vertrages, nicht mehr im weiteren Verlauf des Vertragstextes und auch niemals im Registrationsvermerk. Zweitens folgt dem makedonischen Monatsnamen stets ein Äquivalent, entweder in Gestalt des entsprechenden ägyptischen Monatsnamens oder in der eines römischen Ehrennamens (auf den Unterschied zwischen beiden Möglichkeiten werde ich noch zu sprechen kommen). Das bedeutet: Der makedonische Monatsname hat nur noch eine dekorative Funktion, der eigentlichen Datierung dient das Äquivalent. Angesichts dieser Tatsache überrascht es, wie selten Fehler in der richtigen Einordnung auftreten; die wenigen Fälle werden wir gleich noch betrachten. - Von diesen beiden Regeln, dass nämlich makedonische Monatsnamen erstend nur im Kopf der Urkunde vorkommen und dass sie ferner stets ein Äquivalent nach sich führen, gibt es ebenso wie von der, dass es sich um Staatsnotariatsverträge handelt, keine Ausnahme. Wo es dennoch so scheint, muss man einen Lese-, Ergänzungs- oder Interpretationsfehler suchen.

Verblüffenderweise sind übrigens die einzelnen Monate zahlenmässig sehr ungleich bezeugt; die Skala reicht von je drei Belegen für die Monate Dios und Panemos bis zu dreissig für den Apellaios. Eine plausible Erklärung für diesen Umstand habe ich ausser Beliebtheit nicht finden können, denn über die reine Zahl hinaus ergab die Betrachtung der einzelnen Monate keine bemerkenswerten Unterschiede, ausgenommen vielleicht den Hyperberetaios.

Als sinnvoller hingegen erwies es sich, die Urkunden nach den Gauen zu ordnen, aus denen sie stammen: 135 Belegstellen liefert der Arsinoites, nur 38 kommen aus dem gesamten übrigen Ägypten, genau gesagt - wenn man von zwei Einzelfällen absieht - aus den drei benachbarten Gauen Herakleopolites, Oxyrhynchites und Hermopolites, so geordnet nach der Menge der Belege; doch sind die Zahlen für jeden dieser drei Gae so gering, dass der Zufall eine beträchtliche Rolle spielen mag. Trotzdem reicht das Material aus, um zu erkennen, dass zwischen den Gauen Unterschiede im Gebrauch makedonischer Monatsnamen bestehen, die sich keineswegs auf die pure Häufigkeit beschränken. Augenfällig tritt dies bei einem Vergleich der Belege aus dem Arsinoites und dem Oxyrhynchites zutage: Während im Arsinoites dem makedonischen Monatsnamen stets das Wort μηνός vorausgeht, etwa μηνός Δύστρου πέμπτη Τῦβι πέμπτη, wird es im Oxyrhynchites stets weggelassen, also Δύστρου πέμπτη Τῦβι πέμπτη (ohne μηνός). Während die Vertragstexte im Arsinoites üblicherweise mit ὁμολογεῖ bzw. ὁμολογοῦσιν eingeleitet werden, haben die Verträge aus dem Oxyrhynchites durchweg die Form des Protokolls; und das, obwohl die Vertragsform der Homologie grundsätzlich auch im Oxyrhynchites beliebt war. Vor allem aber finden wir im Arsinoites Abmachungen aller Art mit makedonischen Monatsnamen dekoriert, hauptsächlich Miet-, Kauf- und Darlehensverträge, dazu Bestätigungen über Schuldentilgung, Urkunden, die wohl auch die Masse der Notariatsurkunden schlechthin ausmachen; daneben aber auch Heiratsverträge, letztwillige Verfügungen und anderes. Vertragsgegenstände sind hier Häuser, Grundstücke, Saatgut, Geld und was sonst infrage kommt. Im Oxyrhynchites hingegen handelt es sich

fast ausschliesslich um Sklaven. Zehn von insgesamt dreizehn oxyrhynchitischen Urkunden mit makedonischen Monatsnamen regeln den Kauf oder die Freilassung von Sklaven, bei einer weiteren ist das wahrscheinlich, und nur zwei betreffen mit Sicherheit anderes. Von den elf Urkunden, die sicher oder wahrscheinlich das Schicksal von Sklaven angehen, sind übrigens bemerkenswerterweise fünf im letzten Monat des Jahres, dem Hyperberetaios, ausgestellt, und davon wiederum drei in den Epagomenai. Ebenso auffällig ist, dass in allen diesen Texten der Hyperberetaios nicht dem ägyptischen Mesore gleichgesetzt wird, sondern dem römischen Ehrenmonat Kaisareios, etwas was im Arsinoites undenkbar wäre. Im Oxyrhynchites aber finden wir zu diesen Fällen tatsächlich noch eine Parallele in P. Oxy I 99 aus dem Jahr 55. Zwar wird hier unpassenderweise der Audnaios nicht dem zu erwartenden Neos Sebastos = Hathyr gleichgestellt, sondern dem Sebastos, welcher ein Äquivalent für Thoth ist (- Gleichartige Fehler finden wir in P.I.F.A.O. I 1, wo Loios und Phaophi gepaart sind, statt Apellaios und Phaophi, und vielleicht auch in CPR 84; allerdings vermute ich, dass in diesem sehr schlecht erhaltenen Papyrus μηνὸς Δείου Θωθ statt μηνὸς Ἰωίου Θωθ zu lesen ist -), doch haben wir in diesem Oxyrhynchospapyrus auf jeden Fall einen Ehrennamen vor uns. Das legt eine Vermutung nahe, für deren Beweis wir zwar längst nicht genug Material haben, aber es spricht bei näherer Betrachtung der Zeugnisse auch nichts gegen die Annahme, dass dem makedonischen Namen im Oxyrhynchites stets ein römischer Ehrenname beigegeben wurde, wenn dies möglich war; denn nicht für alle Monate war ja jederzeit ein solcher Ehrenname verfügbar. Wir haben neben den schon erwähnten fünf Urkunden vom Hyperberetaios und dem P.Oxy I 99 noch sieben weitere Urkunden aus dem Oxyrhynchites, davon fünf aus den Monaten Dystros, Xandikos, Loios und Artemisios, für die in der Zeit zwischen 98 und 291, aus der sie stammen, keine Ehrennamen gebräuchlich waren; eine Urkunde, P.Oxy XIV 1706, nennt den Dios, aber das Äquivalent, potentiell der Sebastos, steht in der Lücke. Ein weiterer Vertrag, PSI II 182, nennt den Panemos; auch hier steht das Äquivalent in der Lücke, doch weist die noch erhaltene Bezeichnung μηνὸς auf einen Ehrennamen hin; denn erstens findet man vor diesen den Zusatz überhaupt ungleich häufiger als vor den einfachen ägyptischen Monatsnamen, und zweitens weisen eben die hier betrachteten Doppeldatierungen in den paar Fällen aus dem Oxyrhynchites, wo es sich beim zweiten Bestandteil um einen Ehrennamen handelt, stets diesen Zusatz auf, nicht aber die erwähnten fünf, für die nur ein ägyptisches Äquivalent infrage kommt. Auch im Arsinoites finden wir in den Doppeldatierungen niemals μηνὸς vor dem ägyptischen Monatsnamen. Der Ehrenname, der in PSI 182 infrage käme, wäre der Germanikeios, und zufällig haben wir aus eben dem Jahr, aus dem diese Urkunde stammt, nämlich 234, den letzten sicheren Beleg für ihn. Es scheint also durchaus so zu sein, dass dies im Oxyrhynchites nicht nur erlaubt, sondern die Regel war: Als Äquivalent für eine makedonische Monatsbezeichnung wird nach Möglichkeit ein Ehrenname eingesetzt.

Wir können als Ergebnis festhalten: Zwischen Arsinoites und Oxyrhynchites be-

stehen erhebliche Unterschiede im Gebrauch der makedonischen Monatsnamen, und zwar sowohl formal im Arrangement der Datierung, also z.B. μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου Μεσορῆ im Arsinoites, hingegen Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνὸς Καισαρείου im Oxyrhynchites, wie auch, was den Inhalt der solchermaßen datierten Verträge angeht. Die Einschränkung auf Sklavenangelegenheiten im Oxyrhynchites könnte auch die relative Seltenheit des Vorkommens makedonischer Monatsnamen in diesem Gau erklären; denn ebensowenig wie im Arsinoites alle Notariatsurkunden schlechthin sind im Oxyrhynchites alle Notariatsurkunden, die sich mit Sklaven befassen, mit makedonischen Monatsnamen ausgestattet. Woher aber überhaupt die Spezialisierung im Oxyrhynchites rühren mag, dafür habe ich nicht die geringste Vermutung. Zwar ist der Typ der Staatsnotariatsurkunde im Oxyrhynchites überhaupt viel seltener als im Arsinoites, insgesamt gibt es nicht viel mehr als 80 Belege; trotzdem ist der Themenkreis der Notariatsurkunden in diesem Gau weit grösser als die Belege für makedonische Monatsnamen erkennen lassen: Abgesehen von Pachtverträgen, die es im Oxyrhynchites als Notariatsurkunde nicht gibt, finden wir fast das gleiche Sortiment wie im Arsinoites.

Gemeinsam ist allen Belegen aus römischer Zeit, aus Arsinoites und Oxyrhynchites sowohl wie aus Herakleopolites und Hermopolites, dass sich makedonische Monatsnamen ausschliesslich in der feierlichen Datierung am Kopf von Staatsnotariatsurkunden finden und dass sie dort stets ein allgemein verständliches oder amtlich anerkanntes Äquivalent neben sich haben. So ist es nur noch eine schmale Sparte in der Gesamtmenge der öffentlichen und privaten Urkunden Ägyptens, die ein Fort- oder besser Nachleben des alten makedonischen Kalenders ermöglicht, diese allerdings für lange Zeit, nämlich mehr als drei volle Jahrhunderte nach dem Zusammenbruch der Ptolemäerherrschaft.

Zum Abschluss, sozusagen anhangsweise, will ich noch auf ein Phänomen zu sprechen kommen, das gar nicht ins bisher entworfene Bild passt; und wie sich zeigen wird, es gehört auch gar nicht hinein. In P.Lond. III 1164, einer Rolle Bankdiagrammai aus Antinoopolis, die alle demselben Monat angehören, lesen wir unter verschiedenen Tagesdaten insgesamt achtmal μηνὸς Πανήμου Φαρμοῦθι, wo wir doch nach unserer Kenntnis des makedonischen Kalenders μηνὸς Πανήμου Παχῶν erwarten würden, und auch das keinesfalls in der Eintragung eines Bankbeamten, wie es hier der Fall ist. Die Erklärung ist schon lang, aber nicht allgemein bekannt. Man findet sie in einer räumlich sehr bescheidenen Untersuchung von Mary Dicker, Archiv Bd.9, S.266-7: Es handelt sich hier überhaupt nicht um den makedonischen, sondern um einen der ursprünglich milesischen Monatsnamen, die vermutlich bei der Gründung von Antinoopolis mitsamt der Verfassung von Naukratis übernommen worden waren. Sie finden sich infolge dieses Zusammenhangs auch nicht nur in Privaturkunden, sondern ebenso in amtlichen Texten, und der Panemos entspricht hier einem anderen ägyptischen Äquivalent als der gleichlautende makedonische Name. Anzumerken ist, dass aufgrund dieser Tatsache in derselben Rolle, Abschnitt k, Zeile 9, in der Lücke nicht Ἀπελλαίου, sondern

der entsprechende milesische Monatsname Ἀθηναῖος zu ergänzen ist, und dass in Nr.38 der von Schwartz herausgegebenen P.I.F.A.O. vermutlich vor der Lücke in der ersten Zeile nicht Ἀρτεμισίου, sondern Ἀρτεμισίωνος zu lesen ist, falls die Urkunde, wie Schwartz wegen der Namen der Amphoda vermutet, tatsächlich aus Antinoopolis stammt. Dies wäre dann meines Wissens der einzige Beleg, der seit 1930 zu den von Mary Dicker verzeichneten Stellen hinzugekommen ist.

Some new fragments of Greek Comedy

E.W.Handley

Plates XVI-XIX

The fragments that I should like to discuss present two exercises in analysis and comparison - one palaeographical and the other literary. Novelty apart, they seem to me to raise a number of questions under both heads which are open and interesting to pursue, and it is for that reason, rather than from a conviction of certainty in the conclusions I have reached, that this presentation is offered. It is pleasant at the outset to thank the Egypt Exploration Society for the opportunity to study my subject, a set of fragments from among the hitherto unedited papyri from Oxyrhynchus¹.

A preliminary description may be useful. After some fitting together, and with some pieces still left unplaced, we have to do with the remains of three 22-line columns from a roll containing a play of New Comedy. The script is the formal round hand known as biblical majuscule; the format is generous, with broad upper and lower margins; punctuation and occasional accents and other lectional signs have been added with care; there are marginal notes in a minute semi-cursive. In short, these are the remains of a scholar's text of a high calligraphic order, a book of the type well described by E.G.Turner in his Greek Papyri at pp.92ff. We wonder whether the copyist of this remarkable roll is one we know from elsewhere; and we wonder what was the play.

Biblical majuscule is the subject of a recent very fully illustrated monograph by Guglielmo Cavallo, from whom I take that particular name for the script, and much else in what follows besides². Our new specimen, if not always mechanically elegant, is practised and true to type. It is strictly bilinear: that is to say only ϕ and Ψ have verticals which go across, both above and below, the notional two lines which contain the script; P and Y descend very slightly below the line. The letters, excluding I P ϕ Ψ and ω, are intended to compose within a square. The curves are regular; there is a careful balance of weight between horizontals, verticals, and diagonals. So much, and more that could be added in amplification, is generally and widely true of manuscripts in this style. There is however one interesting book, surviving as a single fragment, which seems to have a quite particular likeness to ours.

I have in mind a fragment in the John Rylands University Library in Manchester which was first published as PRyls 1.16 by A.S.Hunt in 1911³. This is a piece cut from a roll which, like ours, contained a play of New Comedy. It was used on its verso side for a letter from one Syros to Heroninos, φροντιστήρ or farm-bailiff of Theadelphia in the Fayyûm, part of whose archive it forms. The date of the letter falls in the third year of Gallienus, in A.D.256. How much earlier than that the copy of the play was written is a matter of striking disagreement. Hunt considered that 'a manuscript so elaborate would probably not be quickly destroyed': his top date was 215, allowing forty years of use; but 'the text may well belong...' (he went on to say) 'to the latter part of the second century'. Turner, writing in 1954, noted that correspondents in the Heroninos archive had used scrap documents over a century old and proposed a second century date for the literary pieces: for this one, around A.D.150⁴. C.H.Roberts, in Greek Literary Hands, p.22, thinks of a date 'not very distant from A.D.200'. These are a selection of opinions. Cavallo's date, on stylistic grounds, is remarkable in being both high and specific: it is 220-225, which for him is a cardinal point in the formation of this graphic style.

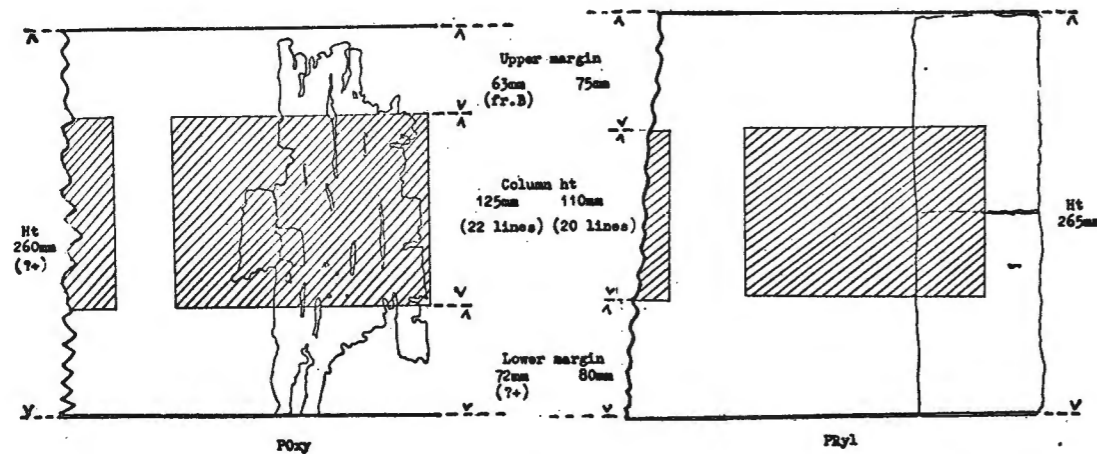


Fig.1
A comparison of dimensions

A diagram (fig.1) may serve to show how similar in format the two rolls were. Comparison of the script is a rather more delicate matter: we have to remember that the two specimens are basically

alike (as two Carolingian bibles might be) purely as members of the same formal genre of writing: one could exaggerate their resemblance. One could also underrate it: if, by a general impression, the hand of POxy seems less precisely controlled and freer in minor variants of letter-forms than that of PRyl, we need to allow firstly that the surface of POxy is in markedly worse condition, and often affected by warping, cracks and minor abrasions; secondly, that PRyl is a specimen of very limited extent, from one column only, and with fewer examples of some letters than one would ideally have.

To come to details: there are perhaps six letters in POxy whose formation calls for comment here. Delta shows (at least) four variants: (i) a practically straight-sided triangle; (ii) the left side bows in slightly or out slightly; (iii) the right side can extend markedly beyond the peak; (iv) the right-hand stroke can lap over the left in a near-vertical formation. In iota, and in other verticals, a simple upright alternates with an upright having a slight initial glide of the pen from left to right; there can also be a little right-left movement at the end of the stroke as pressure ceases. Kappa (i) has thin upper arm, slightly thicker lower arm, neat junction with upright; (ii) the contrast is less pronounced, and there is a gap between the upright and the junction of the arms. In tau, a fractional shift of the pen as the cross stroke begins and ends can give a lightly serifed effect to one side or to both. Upsilon is noticeably variable; often narrow and with short arms joining high; the right arm and the upright are sometimes made virtually in one movement. Omicron, finally, may be noted for its tendency to flatten and become oval with the weight of the forming strokes.

PRyl, though to my eye very closely similar, is in fact a little more lightly and delicately written than POxy (though in fr.D of POxy there is almost nothing to choose). Of delta, there is only one specimen, perhaps not significantly different from the variety in POxy; there are two kappas, both neat and neither with the gap between arms and upright found in POxy on occasion; iota, tau and upsilon seem to me comparable (though the specimens of the last in PRyl generally run to a broader-looking top); there is a less noticeable trend for omicron to flatten. Lectional signs are added in both copies in the same meticulous way; the marginal annotation of PRyl is not, I think, in the same writing as those in POxy (but of course the same book can have notes by more than one hand).

Similarity is one thing, identity another. There is almost certainly no point in arguing that we are dealing with parts of

the same roll, even if one were convinced that the handwriting is the same; for the fragments seem to have had a different history. The Oxyrhynchus pieces have traces of a preservative with which they were treated; not so the Rylands fragment, so far as I can tell. The Rylands fragment ended up in an archive at Theadelphia; the others, discarded and not reused, in the Oxyrhynchus rubbish-heap from which they were dug. I say this because the format is, after all, very similar; and considering the variation in lines per column in such calligraphic papyri as the Bacchylides and the Herodas rolls in the British Museum, it is not ruled out from the start that a book in this style should have columns both of 22 lines and of 20⁵.

The conclusion is then that we are dealing with two distinct but very similar rolls, produced to the same design in handwriting which is closely alike, if not after all that of the same person⁶, and then (apparently by different people) meticulously punctuated and equipped with marginal notes. Were they, one wonders, two of a set of the same comic poet? Does the production of copies of comedy to a standard pattern imply production in the same place? What was the place? These are all questions easier asked than answered. It has been thought of the Rylands fragment that because of the special quality of the book, the play must be by the specially esteemed writer of New Comedy, Menander. One might feel the same about our new pieces; and possibly the two prejudices give some support to each other. With that feeling, while recognizing that it is not evidence, we should move on to consider the comic text itself. One final remark on the dating: I do not venture to guess what effect on future discussion of the Rylands piece will be produced by the accession of what is, on any account, a pretty close relative from Oxyrhynchus. I will merely add that if one were looking for a suitable early context in Oxyrhynchus for the acquisition of such a book, it could well come from that letter about books which was published by Mr Roberts as P0xy 18.2192, and is discussed by Professor Turner in Greek Papyri (pp.87ff) and Greek MSS of the ancient world (No.68). The date assigned is about A.D.170, from some of the people named, and some will say that this, for our purposes, is too early. Here however are the words of someone attempting to acquire scholarly books for his library, someone moreover with more than a passing interest in Greek drama, even if, on this occasion, he is not actually collecting New Comedy. I quote: "Make and send me copies of books 6 and 7 of Hypsikrates, Komodoumenoi. Harpocration says they are among Polion's books. But it is likely that others too have got them. He also has prose epitomes of Thersagoras' work on the myths of Tragedy."

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A		
1]ημ·και πεπρακως λανθ[]ημ· και πεπρακως λανθ[αν-
2]τῶργυριον ἀν αἰεθωμ' ἐγ[ώ]τῶργυριον ἀν αἰεθωμ' ἐγ[ώ
3	]ου τότ' οὐκ ἦν δεσπότη[ς	]ου τότ' οὐκ ἦν δεσπότη[ς
4	]ον ἐκεῖνο· μὴ πεπρα[	]ον ἐκεῖνο· μὴ πεπρα[
5	]δον· εἰ μὲν κλέμμα τ[ι	]δον· εἰ μὲν κλέμμα τ[ι
6	]υροδημοικατινοε· [	δε]υρο δὴ μοι· κατανοεῖ[ς]
7	]υρητιμ' ἐχοντα· μ[η]	ε]υρητι μ' ἐχοντα. () μ[η]
8	]νου· του γαρ εἰπειν ου[	]νου· τοῦ γὰρ εἰπειν ου[
9	]ειτα μι κρακα[.] παροφμαι[	]ει τα μικρά κα[ι] παρόφμαι
10	]ροχόν ποθ' οὐτος ἀνέβη π[.]	ἐπὶ τὸν τ[ρόχον ποθ' οὐτος ἀνέβη π[.]
11	]χοντ' εἰδώς τι μὴ λέγεις ἐμοί	]χοντ' εἰδώς τι μὴ λέγεις ἐμοί
12	]ατείνω τουτ' ἀκούσας· νῆδ[α	]ατείνω τουτ' ἀκούσας. () νῆ δ[α
13	]εταμίμαλις ταγ'· εὐανκρυπτισε[	]εται μάλιστά γ', ἂν κρύπτω τί σε
14	]καιω[.] ντ' απογραψω και καθ['] ἐν	καὶ μὴ δι[κ]αιω[ς] π[ρ]ὸς ἀπογράψω καὶ καθ['] ἐν
15	]ἀνδον[.] σα κεχρηκαμέν τισιν	πὸς' ἐστὶ] ζῆνδον, [πὸ]σα κεχρηκαμέν τισιν
16	]αυμφ[.] οσημενωεμοιδουκ[	]α αυμφ[ω] γοῦμεν, ὡς ἐμοί δοκε[ῖ]
17	]ισω με· [β] μάτην γάρ ταῦτα δεῖ	]ισω με· [β] μάτην γάρ ταῦτα δεῖ
18	]ζον· [α]μα τι τῶν προῦργου ποεῖν	]ζον· ἅμα τι τῶν προῦργου ποεῖν
19	]ερω[.] ἐν αὐτ' ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἴσως	]ερω[μ] ἐν ζαῦτ'· ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἴσως
20	]ετουνητα· τουτ' ἐστιν λέγειν	]ετουνητα τουτ' ἐστιν λέγειν
21	]· ποτερα συντεταγμένα·	]· πότερα συντεταγμένα
22	]ωσ· πόθεν ἀκριβῶς εἴ[ς] [ομα[ι	]ωσ· πόθεν ἀκριβῶς εἴ[ς] [ομα[ι

- A2 [, foot of a vertical
- 3 Ink over ε in second place seems to be offset, not an accent; there is more of it nearby. The articulation is uncertain: in view of τίσε (13) τ]ουτό τ', τὸ τοι]ουτό τ' must be considered
- 7 Slight traces on poor surface leave it doubtful what followed μη
- 10 At the end, feet of letters only: they suggest κα[ι], κλη[or the like
- 11 Otherwise εμου[, but less likely so
- 13 The punctuation γ'·εων calls for the trivial correction of ἐων to ἂν in order to avoid a 'split anapaest': see Dyskolos of Menander at p.64 under (a) on Dysk.176, 205. Punctuation after γε would have given scriptio plana, as (apparently) in 17 below
- 16 αυμφ[ω] γοῦμεν is slightly better adapted to the space than αυμφ[ρ]ο γοῦμεν
- 17 Either side of the break, the left-hand arc and the base of a round letter, as ο or θ, and most likely of one letter not two. But warping of the main fragment means that correct alignment here is not given by that of 8-13; it is determined separately and rather less positively by the shape of the break and by the vertical fibres
- 18 [, high ink, trace of a letter rather than a stop; probably nothing lost after it: -ζονθ' fits but cannot be verified
- 3 With this articulation, e.g. ε]οῦ; but is ἦν first person or third, and is the end -τη[ς or -τη[ι ?
- 4 E.g. μὴ πεπρα[κ]ότος, μὴ πεπρα[κ]ατε, in view of πεπρακώς (1)
- 6 Cf. δεῦρο δὴ βάδιζε at Perik.144 Koe/334 S; κατανοεῖς as e.g. Alexis, Tokistes 230 K
- 7 If ε]υρητις or anything else scanning -- μ[η], [υ -- (as μηδαμῶς, μὴ λέγε) will be expected at the end
- 10-20 The beginnings of 10, 14 and 15 can be conjectured with fair probability, and suggest together that there is a loss of seven letters from the lines nearby. Within these limits many possibilities for restoration can be envisaged; a specimen follows:
- (A.) .. ἐπὶ τὸν τ[ρόχον ποθ' οὐτος ἀνέβη καί] [ε]τ' ὄν - 10
 ἀλλ' εἴ μ' ε]χοντ' εἰδώς τι μὴ λέγεις ἐμοί
 οὐ σε κατ]ατείνω τουτ' ἀκούσας; (B.) νῆ δ[α
 ευγε[ς] ε]ται μάλιστά γ', ἂν κρύπτω τί σε
 καὶ μὴ δι[κ]αιω[ς] π[ρ]ὸς ἀπογράψω καὶ καθ['] ἐν
 πὸς' ἐστὶ] ζῆνδον, [πὸ]σα κεχρηκαμέν τισιν; 15
- (A.) καὶ ταῦτ]α αυμφ[ω] γοῦμεν, ὡς ἐμοί δοκε[ῖ].
 ἦδη δ' ἄγ' ε]ἴσω μ'· [β] μάτην γάρ ταῦτα δεῖ
 ἐμ' ἐξετά]ζονθ' ἅμα τι τῶν προῦργου ποεῖν.
 χαλεπῶς] ἐρω[μ] ἐν ζαῦτ'· ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἴσως
 -]ετουνητα τουτ' ἐστιν λέγειν[υ· 20
- 10 ἐπὶ τὸν τ[ρόχον ἀναβῆναι Antiphon 5.40; οὐτος aside, Sam.456 11 Cf. Epit.510 Koe/714 S ἀλλ' εἴ με ε]ζων τουτο μὴ κείσαις ἐμῆ 14 π[ρ]ὸς ἀπογράψω, cf. App.274f, 391f; καθ['] ἐν App.199f δεῖξω καθ' ἐν ὅπου, πῶς, του παρ- ὄντος 15 Cf. App.150f πόσον... ὅποσα; ib.196 17 Cf. App.387 εἴσω τις ἀγέτω τουτονί 18 Or ἐπεξ- ? (Perik. 414 Koe/392 S, but a doubtful reading) 19 Or ἀπονῶν, or another word for 'reluctantly' 20 (?) τὸν ἀπ]ετουνητα

Fragments of Greek Comedy on papyrus have been successfully identified in a variety of ways. On rare occasions, usually when the end of a copy survives, we have a title, as with the Sikyonioi of Menander in the Paris papyrus⁷. Sometimes (and this might be called the best kind of recognition) a previously known quotation or a previously identified copy proves to overlap with the new text: one need only think of the astonishingly densely attested beginning of Menander's Misoumenos⁸. Sometimes a particular proper name, or better still a collocation of proper names, will do the trick, as with a small unpublished piece of Menander's Kolax from Oxyrhynchus, which gives us the well-known names of the characters Strouthias and Bias, and practically nothing else at all, exhausting itself in the process of self-identification⁹. It may be that the vocabulary of a piece suggests an identity, and a good example is a fragment with a verbal form which is attested only for Menander (namely, καράκτα) and references to the Mother of the Gods and to a girl possessed by her: it was ascribed, with differing degrees of confidence, to Menander's Theophoroumene and had to wait a quarter of a century for confirmation with the publication of an illustration of the scene in question, complete with play-title and characters' names, among the set of mosaics in the Maison du Ménandre at Chorapha, Mytilene¹⁰. One can multiply examples, and it is not un instructive to do so; but all that needs to be said at this point is that we do not have (or rather, that I have not yet found) any such direct clue to the identity of our piece. So unless anyone else has a clue, we shall have to be content, for the present, with guesswork.

Interpretation can best begin from lines 12-15 of fr.A, where the piece joining on the left gives extra text. Taking no more than appears from the first transcript, we have "Yes, by Zeus [...]. very much so" followed by "if I conceal anything from you"; in 14, ἀπογράφω (however we parse it) has the speaker referring to his making a list or inventory; in 15 there are "the things inside" and "we have lent to people".

In a context of listing, the antithesis between things inside and things lent to people is plain enough; κόκα rather than όκα or anything else in the middle of the line is warranted by the space available; the beginning of the line equally easily suggests itself, but will need to be checked for length. That check is well given by 10, where an idiomatic expression can be recognized and restored with confidence: "Here's a man who was once racked on the wheel". π[ά]ντα in the middle of 14 is, I think, unshakeable, granted the space available and the foot of a vertical for π. Given this and an adverb preceding, καθ'έν at the end can validly be predicted from καθ[. I am making this first set of moves very deliberately, because it

is absolutely critical to what follows; and we shall want to be as clear as possible, when we come to parallels, that they really are parallels to a text that stands by its own internal logic, and not parallels which exist only because we have constructed our text to make them so. Seven letters, it seems, are lost in this area. Although I cannot prove that ἀπογράφω needs to be negated and coupled with κρύπτω rather than taken as future and independently, it does so happen that copula, negative and the completion of δικαίως (which I am unable to resist) will satisfy the demands of sense, syntax and space.

So someone promises to make a full and fair inventory, concealing nothing. What kind of a person is this? A slave with a new master (would one think?) or a prospective new master taking over the house - a literate and responsible slave, if so; but no doubt also a tricky one: nobody, I should suppose, would make a promise of this kind in a comedy if it was not in some way bogus. We think of Daos in Menander's Aspis, of this ex-pedagogue's talent for managing his young master's affairs, of the way Smikrines calls on him for an account, an apographe, of the valuables brought home from campaign in Lycia which it is his aim to acquire by marrying the niece to whom they have passed with the supposed death of the owner in battle, her brother and guardian. With the 'property' motif of the Aspis recurring as it does, we are not surprised at the start to find some verbal parallels for our new piece (the reader will find references in the notes to the transcripts). Here, though, to illustrate the kinship of theme with the Aspis, is Daos himself speaking (197): "Agreements he made with people while away - these things I can explain, if someone tells me to, and show what was done in detail, where, how and with what witnesses the arrangement was made; but in the matter of a will, Smikrines, or marrying an heiress..." - that (he goes on to say) is quite another story.

Can we, in spite of the lack of continuous Greek, give some provisional account of the content of our fragments, so that, with all caution, this kind of thematic comparison can be pursued? I should like to try; and I shall propose to follow up three themes or strands of motif which we have already seen woven together. They are: first, the theme of the Angry Enquirer, the man I am calling A, the man who elicits the promise of a full and fair inventory which was our first move in reconstruction. Secondly, we shall look for things to do with the master-slave relationship, particularly for the sake of the person I call B, and take to be a slave who is present on stage; and thirdly, like both the people in the play, we shall be interested in money and property. It will be useful to see first what can be done with fragment A.

Money and property: A1, talk of a secret sale; in line 2, somebody (I shall say the Angry Enquirer) says "if it comes to my notice that the money..."; another probable reference to a sale in 4, and to a theft or thefts in 5; add this to the talk of listing household goods and things lent which has already been noted from 14f.

It will be the Angry Enquirer who says in 6 "Come here!" and (if we so restore) "D'you understand?" δεῦρο δῆ, with or without accompanying pronoun and verb, can be said in Greek, like 'Come here' in English, in a range of moods from seductiveness to fury; this is more like the 'fury' end of the scale, and recalls Moschion in the Perikeiromene (quoted above ad loc.) saying δεῦρο δῆ βᾶδιζε to a Daos who would much rather melt away.

In 7 "You find that I have" and "Don't" - both utterances infuriatingly incomplete - give us the change of dialogue from A to B (or perhaps the reverse: there is no certain sign which is which). Possibly in 9 A is saying something like "I shall overlook minor matters". Line 10 (not depending on my conjecture at the end) may well be a key point in the piece. It could be taken as evidence of a third party intervening with a comment: "Here's a slave who's been on the wheel in his time!", that is to say, one who has been tortured in an attempt to make sure he is telling the truth¹¹. We shall not rush, though, to make a rôle for another person here unless there is other evidence. Both in real life and - more relevantly - on the ancient stage, remarks of this kind are made in 'talking at' people: they are made as if into thin air, but with the intention of being overheard, with the idea of being more frightening or insulting than if one spoke face-to-face. Mercury in Plautus, Amphitruo, about to begin a considerable routine of 'talking at' Sosia, kindly takes time out, in a thoroughly Plautine fashion, to make matters clear to the audience (300)¹²:

clare aduersum fabulabor, auscultet hic quae loquar;
igitur magi' modum maiorem in sese concipiet metum.

Be that as it may, the threat seems to have been real enough. In 11-12, with [κατ]ατείνω or [παρ]ατείνω available, the probable sense is "If you know [x] and don't tell me [shan't] I torture [you] when I get to hear of it?" Speaker B assents to this, 12f. In 16, it may be A who says "We are agreed", rather than B assenting again. It is A in any case, I would judge, who says οὐ μάτην γάρ "I'm not wasting my time", and thinks he can do two things at once¹³. If we so restore 16, he wants to be taken indoors in order to do whatever goes with his business. He reminds me momentarily of the old man in the Dis Exapaton, about to be reunited with his money, and remarking (63) ἐμ[οί] δὲ πάντων τοῦτο κρούργιαίτερον. The change to

a tone of reflection suggests that the sequence of dialogue, and with it a scene of the play, is coming to an end. The Angry Enquirer has some remark which he feels reluctantly obliged to make (19-20); 21, it may be that he suspects things are ranged against him; 22, he wants to know for certain, κόθεν ἀκριβῶς εἰ[c]ομα[ι]; He has all our sympathy.

As to the slave: we have seen him in 12-15 agreeing to suffer if he conceals things; he has (line 6) been called on to pay attention, and it is no doubt at him primarily that the talk of fraud or theft is aimed. We should know more if line 3 were less tantalizingly ambiguous. It makes a useful warning of what we do not know.

Among other things, we do not know how far apart the other surviving pieces of this roll were, or in what order they came. But we can ask how far they share the three themes we have been following. Money and property: fr.B, line 2, "ten minas"; in 9, he or she "left behind", or "left by legacy" - a doubtful entry, but an interesting one. Also doubtful, who or what was described as "Corinthian" in 8? (If it were Latin, remarked a colleague of mine, it would be bronzes). In fr.D, line 8, doubtful again, part of a marginal note which may be, but need not be, completed to give "six minas".

The presence of the Angry Enquirer and the Slave in fr.B is neatly indicated by the single word δρακέτα at 15 (see ad loc.). "Of course", δηλαδή, comes twice, and suggests the soft answer turning away wrath. In 20 "Quarreling with me now, are you?", and, in the first lines of the column "Tell me", "You don't know" and "I know very well" will suit a dialogue between the pair. In the minor fragments, where so little can be made out, there are more expressions for "say" and for "find out" (see on D1-2, E3; part of καταμανθάνω at B19 and possibly C6). This scene, in other words, seems to have occupied at least two columns (there is no reason why B should not come immediately before A), and may very well have taken more. It was then at least 44 lines, and shows every sign of having been considerably longer, as one would also infer from the pace and scale of the dialogue in fr.A; it was an incident of a certain magnitude in its play. One more very uncertain and interesting point of detail must be mentioned: the appearance of]ολεμαρχο[, part of πολέμαρχος or the derivative verb, or of the proper name Polemarchos (C1). If this play involves a case to do with money or property, and if the polemarchos is the Athenian official of that name, a resident alien is likely to be involved: Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, 58.3, says inter alia that his concern with these foreigners includes cases on wills and heiresses¹⁴.

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Perhaps we have now gone far enough. The piece is expected to be Menander from the nature of the copy; it is, so far as I can judge, quite consistent with his style; there are signs that it may be from a play like the Aspis, in which a man is concerned with an inheritance. These points noted, it could, with prudence, be left to wait among the adespota nouae comoediae until something more definite turns up. But I should like to end by testing, if need be to destruction, the idea that the piece is from the lost part of the Aspis itself.

The necessary facts can be recalled briefly. The Aspis, like several known plays by Menander and others, turns on the Attic law of inheritance relating to heiresses: twice over, in fact, and twice over on the reversal of fortune which comes when the person whose supposed death leaves someone an heiress turns out after all to be alive. The two principals are Smikrines, who seems so far to be quite the nastiest man in Menander, in whom I shall try to find our Angry Enquirer; and Daos - pedagogue, batman, shipping agent, family slave and intriguer - in whom I shall look for our Slave. The length of the play, as best calculated, was about 870 lines¹⁵; the possible place for such a sequence of action as we have in mind is in the gap after line 469 of the modern numbering, a gap which included the end of Act III and the early part of Act IV, and runs to about 200 lines.

Fortune, as prologue speaker, says this of Smikrines (116ff): "He is the most outrageously unscrupulous man alive: he has no time for friends or relations; he thinks nothing of what is ordinarily disgraceful: his one aim in life is to own everything (ἔχειν ἅπαντα). This passion begins to show itself in the opening scene as he listens to Daos' story of the Lycian campaign, of plundering, and of his master's death in battle. 82ff: "You say you brought six hundred gold pieces?" "Yes" "And cups...?" "A load of about 40 minas, no more, Mr Legatee" "What? You don't think that's why I'm asking, do you. Good Heavens! And the rest...was taken from you?" He just has to know: the insistent questions, regardless of the proprieties of the situation, are typical of him; typical is the wretchedly thin veil of conventional feeling which he tries to draw over the motives his questions have exposed¹⁶. Is this not something like the man in our fragment A, when, after talking of torture (10ff), he is apparently ready to moralize over something he doesn't quite like to say but feels he must (19f)?

Let us hear Smikrines from the Aspis again (149ff): "So that no-one can say that I am over-struck on money, I didn't enquire into the amount of gold he's brought or how many silver cups; I

didn't get a total for anything, but willingly let him take it in - the family are always getting at me. The truth will out, of course, so long as the bearers are slaves." The veil is very thin. He let Daos go "without enquiring (οὐκ ἐξετάσας)" did he? Well, perhaps, if he insists: he just plain asked, and we have just quoted the lines where he does (82ff above). "The truth will out (τὸ γὰρ ἀκριβὲς εὖρεθήσεται) so long as the bearers are slaves". We have noted the Angry Enquirer's passion for accurate knowledge before (A22 κόθεν ἀκριβῶς εἰ[c]ομα[ι]), but the point here is different from the recurrence of a common idiom, significant though such things may be¹⁷. 'Servants', says Sandbach in his note, 'would have no interest in concealing any attempt by their masters to cheat by misrepresenting the total to be shared.' This may well be: but who is thinking of sharing? Not Smikrines. He wants it all, and he does not want any of it sold or stolen before he can get his hands on it. The hired butler also has a realistic view of the situation when he calls Daos a lunatic for bringing the plunder back at all and not going off as a runaway (239ff). Smikrines "didn't get a total"; but, we may feel, he will know, like our Angry Enquirer, the way to get the truth out of slaves.

Smikrines' first move towards the wealth he covets is to propose, as he legally could, to marry the niece who was left heiress. It is in reacting to this that Daos makes the remark we have quoted (196ff), that he can answer for contracts, but wills and heiresses are another matter. Smikrines announces his decision to the family - to the girl's other uncle, in whose household she grew up, and to the adopted son of the house whom she was about to marry: this at the beginning of Act II. By now (274) he has his eye still closer on the ball: "Send Daos to me, so that he can give me a list (ἀπογραφή) of what he brought". We have just considered two appearances of the 'list' motif; this is now a third, and we wonder what else is to be done with it. At the start of Act III (391), enter Smikrines: "He was quick to come with the list of goods, Daos was - very thoughtful (I don't think). So Daos is on their side. Good, splendid: I'm glad of the excuse not to make my enquiries considerately, but to make them as suits me. The hidden assets must be double, I know that runaway's tricks." The Greek: τὰ γὰρ οὐ φανερά δῆπουθέν ἐστὶ διπλάσια· ἐγώϊδα τούτου τὰς τέχνας τοῦ δραπέτου. Smikrines is becoming like the Angry Enquirer more and more.

Meanwhile, Daos has been plotting. They will fool and distract the old man by playing on his major weakness, greed for money. They will fake his brother's death, and so give him another heiress niece to marry, and a much richer one, worth perhaps sixty talents instead of four (350f). He will then let the first girl go to the first man who asks him (and that will be her previous fiancé, of course); he will propose to marry the richer one. 356: "There he'll be, putting

the whole household to rights, going round with keys, sealing the doors, all in a dream of wealth". There are two aspects to this intrigue. The first, setting up the fake death, occupies the first 90-odd lines of Act III, with Smikrines, the melodramatic Daos, and the bogus Sicilian doctor with his talk of fatal illness. There is to come, we gather, wailing and beating of breasts, with a dummy lying in state inside, which Smikrines will see but not be allowed to inspect too closely (343ff, 359ff). The second aspect we know much less well. What Fortune says in the prologue speech is this: "He will give himself plenty of toil and trouble to no purpose, and will make it all the more obvious to everyone what sort of man he is before he goes back to where he started from." (143ff)¹⁸. What Daos and his friends anticipate is known very imperfectly from a passage which is broken (362ff), and gives us mere snatches: "We can test how..." "...how he came to the house" "who there is in debt" and "he is to" (or "you are to") "recover double (διπλάσιον εἰσπράττει)". The idea may be, as Lloyd-Jones has suggested, that once the brother proves to be alive after all, Smikrines will be prosecuted for theft of the property he has earmarked for himself, and will pay the appropriate penalty¹⁹. But in any case, after all the build-up of the 'list' motif - a list, let it be clear, relating to the estate which goes with the first heiress - it would be very odd if the whole idea of listing and checking were dropped; and it would be perfectly appropriate if, when it does come, an undertaking to make a list should be made in relation to quite another property²⁰. There is room in the Aspis, after our present text stops in Act III, for Smikrines to quiz Daos about the new and larger property. Do the new fragments give us parts of the scene in which he does? The Angry Enquirer has shown signs of being, like Smikrines, an unpleasant man. We thought of him in fragment A as asking to be taken inside, thinking that he is not wasting his time, and reflecting that he can kill two birds with one stone (he wants ἄμα τὶ τῶν προὔργου κοεῖν); there was something he must say, however reluctantly. If he is Smikrines, he is about to go into the house where, to the best of his belief, his brother is lying dead. May he not be Smikrines?

How about the polemarch? I have left him on duty to remind us that we are supposed to be scholars not playwrights. Are there no foreigners in the Aspis? Only just. There is a quotation in which Stephen of Byzantium takes from our play the feminine of Iberian, and gives the words Ἑλληνίς, οὐκ Ἰβηρίς (73 Koe/2 S). From this, or otherwise, we could invent something to account for the polemarch: but we have invented more than enough. I hope it is fair to say that the Aspis illuminates the new fragments; I should be pleased if their study does anything to illuminate the Aspis; I suggest, but do not claim, that they come from that play.

NOTES

- 1 P0xy inv. 16 2B52/E(a) + A 2B48/(a), to be republished in due course in a volume of Oxyrhynchus Papyri, in accordance with the Society's practice. The text of fragments A and B, with attendant notes, was circulated at the Congress; for completeness' sake, I now add the lesser pieces C-J.
- 2 Guglielmo Cavallo, Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica, Firenze 1967; a review discussion by J.Irigoin, Scriptorium 24 (1970) 67-74.
- 3 PRyl 1.16 = Pack²1688 = C.Austin, Comicorum graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta 248. Palaeographical discussion: Cavallo (quoted n.2 above) 45ff and index (p.146) with references. The plate in ed.pr. is of special value, since it shows the whole fragment and is meticulously accurate in scale. I am grateful to the John Rylands University Library for facilities to study the two papyri which I am comparing side-by-side and to have them photographed together. Dr Frank Taylor and Mr A.Smith were most helpful; and the plates which illustrate this paper were made from some of Mr Smith's photographs.
- 4 E.G.Turner, 'Recto and verso', JEA 40 (1954) 102-106 at p.106 n.3. There is a useful short note and bibliography on the Heroninos archive in Orsolina Montevicchi, La papirologia, Torino 1973, p.256 under no.57. The letter on the verso of PRyl 1.16 was published as PRyl 2.236; PLips inv.12 (= PFlor 2.246*) and PFlor 2.247 are from the same to the same a few days earlier and later respectively.
- 5 Bacchylides: B.M., pap.inv.737 = Pack²175, published in facsimile, London 1897; commonly 34/35 lines to a column, but up to 36 and down to 32. Herodas, B.M., pap.inv.135 = Pack²485, published in facsimile, London 1892; cols 1-xiv 15/16 lines to a column, later normally 18/19, but down to 17.
- 6 The normal assumption, if we accept that two specimens of script are different, is that two people are involved and not one person developing his calligraphy; it is likewise normally assumed that two specimens very alike in style will be very close in date: but these still are assumptions.
- 7 PSorb inv.2272e: A.Blanchard-A.Bataille, Recherches de Papyrologie 3 (1964) 103-76; recent bibliography on the play (and the form of its title) is in Austin (quoted n.3) under nos 187 and 188, and in H.-J.Mette, 'Menander 1966-73' Lustrum 16 (1971-2[1974]) 5-80 under no.24.
- 8 See Austin under no.147 (with text), Mette under no.20, and especially Eric G.Turner, The papyrologist at work; GRBS monograph 6, 1973, pp.15-21 and 48-50.
- 9 Listed by Mette under no.18 (c).

- 10 PSI 12.1280 (first published by Vitelli and Norsa, *Ann.scuol.norm. di Pisa* 4 (1935) 1ff) = Pack² 1309; Austin 144; Mette 14 (b); cf. BICS 16 (1969) at pp.90-95 with p.100 n.14.
- 11 At Aristophanes, *Frogs* 618ff, there is a list of ordeals to which slaves might be put to test their truthfulness, including twisting on the wheel (στρεβλοῦν) as referred to here: see the commentators on the passage, and A.R.W.Harrison, *Law of Athens* ii (1971) 147ff.
- 12 Text from Lindsay: the point I am making is not affected by its minor uncertainties.
- 13 No punctuation after οὐ μάτην γάρ, unless it is lost by abrasion; but I do not see the phrase going easily with ταῦτα δεῖ. What is to be understood from the context may be the general idea of a verb of motion (at *Dysk.*255 we have οὐ μάτην γάρ ἤκομεν, as Dr Austin reminds me), or something more specific to the previous remark: 'Not a waste of time (to go inside)'.
- 14 See further Harrison (quoted n.11), 9-11 and 20-21.
- 15 See a recent note on the topic by J.C.B.Lowe, BICS 20 (1973) at p.94f
- 16 Note the way in which Menander builds up to this effect from earlier in this scene: 19f "But how did he come to be killed, in what way?"; 68f "You saw him fallen among the dead?"; 72 "Then how do you know?". At 94ff, S. goes off "to think over what will be the gentlest way to handle them" (namely, his bereaved relations); 'the choice of that word "gentlest" (remarks Lloyd-Jones) reminds one of Uriah Heep': 'Menander's *Aspis*', GRBS 12 (1971) 175-95 at p.178.
- 17 Cf. F.H.Sandbach 'Menander's manipulation of language for dramatic purposes' in *Entretiens Hardt* 16 (1970), esp. at pp.121ff.
- 18 μάτην δὲ πράγμαθ' αὐτῶι καὶ πόνους | πολλοὺς παραχῶν... I cannot resist reminding the reader of the Angry Enquirer's οὐ μάτην γάρ at fr.A.17, and the possibilities of irony.
- 19 Lloyd-Jones: quoted by Austin in his volume of *subsidia interpretationis*, p.35 under 366s.
- 20 The audience, in other words, should get not quite what it expects: cf. *Entretiens Hardt* (quoted n.17) 3ff.

Poll Tax in Philadelphia and P. Mich. inv. 887

Ann Ellis Hanson

Published papyri which deal with the collection of the poll tax in the Fayum village of Philadelphia under the Julio-Claudians are constantly increasing in number. As these new texts are published, they often augment and clarify the tax records themselves and the petitions of the poll tax collectors which have already been published --principally in P. Cornell, P. Princ. I and P. Graux 1, 2, and 3 (SB 7461, 7462, 7463), P. Ryl. IV 595, and P. Mich. X 594.

From these Philadelphia documents has come much of our specific knowledge of the decline in economic prosperity in Egypt which grew particularly severe under Claudius and Nero.¹ Both the complaints of the collectors and also the less rhetorical records of tax collections and accounts of arrears show that between 45 and 57 A.D. a considerable proportion of the taxable male population of Philadelphia was not paying their taxes as expected. The editors of P. Princ. I 8, an extensive register of tax payments, now to be dated on prosopographical grounds to after 40/41 A.D.,² noted: "The proportion of delinquents is very high....In view of the efficiency of the government in the collection of taxes, we are inclined to believe that this record is abnormal, and that the high proportion of delinquents is due to local conditions which made it impossible for the natives to discharge their obligations to the state" (pp. 24-25).

After the publication of P. Mich. X 594 our conception of a crisis in the reign of Claudius and the affect of that crisis on Philadelphia became more precise. That text was drawn up early in 51 A.D., no doubt at the local tax office. It sets forth tax arrears from five of the previous six years. The taxes, which have been computed separately, are the capitation tax, assessed according to the editor at 44 dr. 1 ob., the pig tax, assessed at 1 dr. 1 ob., and the dike tax, assessed at 6 dr. 4 ob. For both the years 45/46 and 50/51 A.D. the amount of arrears was between 2500 and 3000 dr. But the years 46/47 and 47/48 A.D. are conspicuous for the large amounts still owing the tax office; the editor of the text connected the large deficits with excessive Nile floods and high prices of grain known to have existed early in the reign of Claudius.³ The largest arrears figures for the poll tax, those for 46/47 A.D., totalled 4 talents 4046 dr. Such a figure suggested to the editor that approximately 635 men had not yet fulfilled their tax obligations for 46/47 after a lapse of four years. Although the arrears for 50/51 A.D. seem small when compared to those for 46/47, P. Ryl. IV 595, an account of arrears from 57 A.D. which includes a list of 105 defaulting tax payers, testifies to the fact that, as far as Philadelphia was concerned, the fiscal difficulties continued into Nero's reign.⁴

An unpublished Michigan papyrus, P. Mich. inv. 887 from 34 A.D. (see text below), gives an indication of the tax potential of Phila-

delphia some fifteen years earlier. Our text is a yearly tax report which apparently contained the synopsis of the males between 14 and 62 whose idia was Philadelphia in 33 A.D.,⁵ and a list of the amounts received by collectors between the third month of the 19th year of Tiberius (33 A.D.) and the end of the second month of the 20th year (34 A.D.).⁶ The top of the first preserved column--column II--seems to be the concluding section of the synopsis, which took cognizance of the number of men in each tax category and the total amount the men in that category were expected to pay. The accounting has reached the point where it is dealing with men who do not pay the standard assessment. Sixteen men with metropolitan citizenship are noted in lines 7-11; two of them are expected to pay nothing, while the remaining fourteen pay an assessment of 22 dr. 4 ob. each. This assessment is half the usual one of 45 dr. 2 ob. paid by Philadelphians at this time, for often the poll tax and the pig tax were computed together.⁷ In lines 13-14 the estimate of poll tax to be paid that year (τὸ πᾶν) is 6 talents 1918 dr. 4 ob. After this estimate sub-totals of collections are recorded month by month: the first group of payments are from the villagers to the local bank through the cheiristes (lines 16-27); the second group of payments are to cheiristai by Philadelphians currently resident in other villages in the Herakleides and Polemon Divisions (28-114). The collections from villagers in the Herakleides Division--but not in Philadelphia--are listed by village. The Polemon Division is treated as a single collection unit. The overwhelming majority of the payments are recorded through the cheiristes at the bank in Philadelphia: 4 talents 2713 dr. 3 ob. were handled at the local bank, while only 1688 dr. came from cheiristai in other villages. From the information contained in our document, about seventy-five percent of the amount projected in lines 13-14 had been collected by the time this report was written, some time after the close of the second month of the 20th year of Tiberius.

Three aspects of this new text and its relation to other Philadelphia material will be examined briefly here. First of all, a tax estimate of 6 tal. 1918 dr. 4 ob. implies a taxable male population of no less than 836, assuming that each paid the normal assessment of 45 dr. 2 ob. But from col. II, lines 2-13, it is clear that not all were required to pay the full figure of 45 dr. 2 ob. Hence the number of taxable males at Philadelphia in 34 A.D. certainly exceeded 836.⁸ Second, the collections for the 19th year of Tiberius, when compared with the estimated tax income, show that about three-quarters of the projected figure had been collected when this account was compiled. The amount collected in 33 A.D., 4 talents 4401 dr. 3 ob., is approximately the same as the amount of arrears still owing for the single year 46/47 A.D. four years later in 51 A.D., as set forth in P. Mich. X 594. The consternation which such a loss of revenue occasioned in the Philadelphia tax office must have been considerable, since the tax collector himself "...was responsible with person and property for the

due collection of all revenues which fell within his sphere of competence."⁹ Finally, the overwhelming majority of collections listed in P. Mich. 887 are recorded as having been made through the Philadelphia bank. Little more than five per cent of the total was collected by cheiristai in other villages of the Herakleides and Polemon Divisions. In comparison with other Philadelphia texts, this proportion collected outside Philadelphia seems low.¹⁰ In particular, P. Princ. I 14 is a partially preserved list of Philadelphians currently resident outside the village, redated on prosopographical evidence to between 38 and 48 A.D. I believe that when complete, P. Princ. I 14 contained the names of 325 Philadelphians, all of whom were residing in that year away from the village.¹¹ In the preserved sections of this text 64 Philadelphians are resident in Alexandria; another 64 are recorded as being πρὸς [κ]ώμην. Another unpublished poll tax list to be dated after 51 A.D., P. Mich. inv. 877, shows twenty Philadelphians resident in the metropolis (lines 34-55).¹² Perhaps a worsening economic situation forced more Philadelphians to look for livelihood in communities at increasingly greater distances. Such absences from one's idia as are documented in the texts from the decades of the 40's and 50's A.D. may have been prolonged and they certainly would have affected the villagers' abilities to return casually to their homes. A corresponding change took place in their tax-paying habits: both records of payments to cheiristai outside Philadelphia and tax lists of non-resident Philadelphians increase during the reign of Claudius. Although absence from the village was not necessarily synonymous with tax defaulting,¹³ the two phenomena were connected in the mind of the collector of poll tax in those difficult years when overall tax deficits were high--both when he complained in 45 A.D. that Philadelphians living in the Herakleopolite nome were in default for their poll tax (SB 7461) and later when he joined five neighboring collectors petitioning for a postponement of their payment, since depopulation of their villages prevented them from carrying out their duties (SB 7462).

1. See e.g. the prominent position played by papyri from Philadelphia in the evidence gathered by H. I. Bell, *JRS* 28 (1938) 1-8, by G. Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander* 57-61 and the introduction to P. Mich. X 594.

2. For the revision of the date see my publication of P. Mich. inv. 879, forthcoming in *ZPE*.

3. Introduction to P. Mich. X 594, pp. 66-67.

4. Cf. P. Cornell 24, 56 A.D., a list of 44 defaulters, the majority of whom recur in the first section of P. Ryl. IV 595, written a year later.

5. For the synopsis, see *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan* II 117.2 and commentary, p. 257, P. Mich. X 594.5 and P. Mich. XI 603.9-10note.

6. Cf. P. Col. II, p. 38 and P. Princ. II 53 for the same twelve-month period of collections.

- Παμφίλου ἀνή(ρ) α {γίνεται}
- (γίνεται) ἀνδ(ρες) β
- λοιποὶ ἀνδ(ρες) ιδ (δρ.) τιζ⁻
12. γίν(εται) (δρ.) χοζf
- γίνεται τὸ πᾶν [(δρ.)]
- ἀργυρίου (ταλ.) ε 'Αλιηf
- τούτων τράπεζα διὰ Παπο(ντώτος) χ(ειριστοῦ)
16. μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστο(ῦ) (δρ.) τξδ ἄλλα(ν) (δρ.) μ
- Χοιάχ κωμη(τῶν) 'Ατος
- Τῦβει
- Μεχείρ 'Αχνς
20. Φαμενώθ (δρ.) 'Αλξ
- Φαρμοῦθ(ι) (δρ.) 'Ατ
- Παχών (δρ.) 'Αφ
- Παῦνι (δρ.) 'Αφ
24. 'Επέιφ (δρ.) 'Ευ
- Μεσορή (δρ.) 'Γ
- μηνὶ Σεβαστῶ κ (ἔτους) (δρ.) 'Δοξηf
- ὑπὲρ ιθ (ἔτους) (δρ.) 'Δτμθ
- Column III
28. καὶ τοῖς κατὰ κ[ώ]μη(ν) χειριστ(αῖς)
- μη(νὸς) Νέ(ου) Σεβα(στοῦ)
- 'Απολλωδώρου (δρ.) κδ
- (γίνεται) (δρ.) κδ
32. Χοιάχ
- Σεβεννύτου (δρ.) ις
- Κερκεσοῦχων (δρ.) ις

7. For the half assessment of metropolitan citizens, see Wallace, Taxation 126-28; for the combined assessment of 45 dr. 2 ob., cf. P. Princ. I 14.

8. 836 x 45 dr. 2 ob. = 6 tal. 1908 dr. 4 ob. Although it is difficult to move from amounts of money to estimates of the taxable male population or total population when the figures involved are not complete, it is an acceptable procedure: cf. Josephus, BJ II 385, where the population of Egypt except for Alexandria is given as 7,500,000—ὡς ἔνεστιν ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἐκάστην κεφαλὴν εἰσφορᾶς. *τεκμήριον*. The editors of P. Cornell 21 estimated that the number of males in Philadelphia in 25 A.D. was between 920 and 1230. These figures were accepted by A.E.R. Boak, Historia 4 (1955) 160-61, but rejected by the editors of P. Princ. I 9, pp. 46-47. Cf. also Braunert, Binnenwanderung 150.

9. The phrase is Bell's, JRS 28 (1938) 3.

10. P. Princ. I 9, an alphabetical register of 31 A.D. with 55 entries, mentions no cheiristai, and installments are recorded as paid at the local bank. In contrast P. Princ. I 8, an extensive register now to be dated after 40/41 A.D. (above, note 2), shows that 36 of the 122 entries made payments to cheiristai in villages of the Arsinoite nome. Cf. Braunert, Binnenwanderung 154.

11. For these revisions in P. Princ. I 14, see my publication of P. Mich. inv. 879, above note 2.

12. Other examples of lists of non-resident Philadelphians are P. Mich. inv. 879 and P. Cornell inv. I 16. Cf. also P. Princ. I 13, written on the verso of P. Princ. I 8 (cf. above, note 2), and Braunert, Binnenwanderung 151-52.

13. Cf. Braunert, Binnenwanderung 154 on P. Princ. I 8.

P. Mich. inv. 887

28.5 x 48 cm.

after October, 34 A.D.

Column I - Traces of a preceding column are visible at several points along the left margin

Column II

[..... (γίνεται) (δραχμαῖ)] 'Ασμα.

[.....]

[.....] χ[.] .λ(ι) ἀνδ(ρες) ε⁻

4. τούτω(ν) [] ἀνδ(ρες) β⁻

Φαμενώθ ἀνδ(ρες) η (δρ.) σν

γίνετ(αι) (δρ.) τξ⁼

διαφόρου μητροπολ(ιτῶν) ἀνδ(ρες) ις

8. ἀφ' ὧν Σατορνίλου ἀνή(ρ) α

36. (γίνεται) (δρ.) οβ

The rest of column III and columns IV, V and VI of the Greek text show the κατά κάμην account through Phaophi of the 20th year; for the sums which appear there, see the English version below.

Total tax estimate according to the synopsis

6 tal. 1918 dr. 4 ob. (lines 13-14)

Payments to the cheiristes at the bank in Philadelphia

364 dr. (line 16, Neos Sebastos of the 19th year)
 40 dr. (line 16a, correction for Choiak)
 1376 dr. (line 17, Choiak)
 (line 18, the sum for Tybi was omitted)
 1656 dr. (line 19, Mecheir)
 1960 dr. (line 20, Phamenoth)
 1300 dr. (line 21, Pharmouthi)
 1500 dr. (line 22, Pachon)
 1500 dr. (line 23, Pauni)
 5400 dr. (line 24, Epeiph)
 3000 dr. (line 25, Mesore)
 4268 dr. 3 ob. (line 26, Sebastos of the 20th yr. for the 19th)
 4349 dr. (line 27, Phaophi? of the 20th yr. for the 19th)

26713 dr. 3 ob.

Payments to the cheiristai "village by village"

24 dr. (line 31, Neos Sebastos of the 19th year)
 72 dr. (line 36, Choiak)
 104 dr. (line 43, Tybi)
 196 dr. (line 50, Mecheir)
 128 dr. (line 59, Phamenoth)
 160 dr. (line 67, Pharmouthi)
 200 dr. (line 77, Pachon)
 204 dr. (line 86, Pauni)
 40 dr. (line 91, Epeiph)
 212 dr. (line 98, Mesore)
 132 dr. (line 105, Sebastos of the 20th yr. for the 19th)
 216 dr. (line 114, Phaophi of the 20th yr. for the 19th)

26713 dr. 3 ob.

1688 dr.

28401 dr. 3 ob. =

4 tal. 4401 dr. 3 ob.

1688 dr.

Our knowledge of the early history of Christianity in Egypt is still relatively slight. While we may reflect that this is not very different from the position in other provinces (if we exclude evidence internal to the movement) it might still have been hoped that more would come to light amid the wealth of information about Roman Egypt from the papyri.²

It has been frequently pointed out that the biblical papyri themselves provide the strongest evidence for the second and third centuries.³ To this period belong the Chester Beatty papyri P⁴⁵⁻⁷ and P⁵², covering the four Gospels, Acts, nine Epistles of Paul, Hebrews and Revelation; amongst the Bodmer collection P^{66,72,75} are codices of Luke, John, Jude and the two Epistles of Peter.⁴ Their great importance for the history of the New Testament text is matched by the evidence they afford of the circulation of the Scriptures. In Middle Egypt we know thereby of several places where the Bible was being read in the second century, and as C.H. Roberts has remarked, it is safe to infer that other communities then existed in Lower Egypt and also further up the Nile.⁵

A perusal of Kurt Treu's *Referat* for the years 1940-67⁶ shows that, although they are inevitably fewer than for the later period, LXX and N.T. fragments for the second to the fourth century continue to accumulate. Reference to the canonical scriptures must of course not lead to the neglect of apocryphal and gnostic texts, but it may be noted that these are far outweighed by the biblical. We need not subscribe to the view that the Church was mainly gnostic from the beginning (strong though that influence was) and that for this reason its early history was largely suppressed in the ecclesiastical tradition.⁷

The literary evidence, though slender, at least supports the picture of a spread of biblical knowledge in Egypt. Clement of Alexandria in describing Christianity there at the beginning of the third century says that 'the word (λόγος) of our Teacher was converting both Greeks and barbarians through village and city and nation' (*Strom.* vi.18.167); he is no doubt thinking of the written scriptures as well as the living faith. Eusebius (*H.E.* vi.2) relates the early education of Origen in Alexandria as starting with the Christian texts and then proceeding to the usual Greek *paideia*. Later, having cited Dionysius' Letter to Fabius which contains indications of the spread of Christianity by the mid-third century, he refers to the bishop's work in refuting Nepos (vii.24.5). This lesser bishop is praised for his biblical learning but countered in his interpretation of the Old Testament promises. Dionysius made a tour of churches in the Arsinoite district, met the presbyters and teachers and admired their intelligence and openness in biblical debate. His contrast between the Greek of the Gospels and Epistles and that of Revelation also assumes a literary sensitivity in the Christian communities.

Further evidence of the 'official' use of the Scriptures comes later in the third century from documents of a semi-literary type, especially the 'Epistle against the Manichees' (P.Ryl. III.469). Roberts has suggested

that this epistle emanated from another Alexandrian bishop, Theonas.⁸ It is notable for its varied use of both LXX and N.T. texts; there are direct citations, summaries, free translations, and skilful adaptations - eight or nine biblical references in all. Even if its circulation was limited to the district of Alexandria, the continual appeal to the text of Scripture is impressive.

Official use of the Bible by Alexandrian bishops (not to speak of the renowned Catechetical School) is one thing; what of the knowledge and use of these documents by rank-and-file Christians elsewhere in Egypt? Here the private letters from the late second to the fourth century give us some clues. The total with some claim to 'biblical' expressions is not large, but there are issues of identification and interpretation which make a review worthwhile, because amongst the criteria for Christian attribution the use of the Bible ranks high - next, in my view, to specifically Christian titles and symbols.⁹ I have attempted a classification into citations, verbal echoes, and lesser verbal reminiscences, taking Naldini's selection¹⁰ as a starting point.

'Citations' are very few, and Naldini is perhaps right to avoid the word. Only in one case, P.Lond. III.981 (= Naldini 51), do we have an introductory clause: Καθώς γέγραπται ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ὅτι μακάριοι εἰσιν οἱ ἔχοντες σπέρμα ἐν Σιών, τὰ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν, ... (lines 4-7). Here the original, Is. 31.9b, is quoted freely, and the LXX is itself almost an adaptation of the Hebrew: Τάδε λέγει κύριος, Μακάριος ὃς ἔχει ἐν Σίῶν σπέρμα καὶ οἰκεῖους ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ (cf. RSV: 'Thus says the Lord, whose fire is in Zion and whose furnace is in Jerusalem'). The other example is put forward tentatively, P.Heid. I.6 (= N.41): ἵνα οὖν μὴ πολλὰ γράφω καὶ φλυαρήσω, ἐν γὰρ [πο]λλῇ λαλιᾷ οὐκ ἐκφεύξοντ[αι] ἡ ἀμαρτίῃ, παρακαλῶ... (7-10). Cf. Prov. 10.19: ἐκ πολυλογίας οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ ἀμαρτίαν, / φειδόμενος δὲ χειλέων νοήμων ἔσῃ. The Greek is fairly close to the LXX, and γὰρ is used as if to draw attention to the saying. Naldini prefers the corrected reading αἱ ἀμαρτίαι, but I suggest ἐκφεύξονται should be taken as Middle, with an indefinite subject, and that we read Deissmann's τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, which is closer to the LXX.

In the second category of verbal echoes some examples seem relatively clear. In P.Oxy. XII.1592 (which I add to Naldini's list) two distinctive verbs are combined: ...καὶ πάνυ ἐμεγαλύνθη καὶ ἠγαλλείασα ὅτι τοιοῦτός μου π(α)τὴρ τὴν μνήμην ποιεῖται (3-6); cf. Lk. 1.46-7: Καὶ εἶπεν Μαριάμ, / Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν κύριον, / καὶ ἠγαλλίασεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ σωτήρ μου... P.Heid. I.6 (= N.41) has the very distinctive phrase 'citizenship in heaven': ...πιστεύομεν γὰρ τὴν πολιτείαν σου ἐν(ν) οὐρανῷ (3-4); cf. Phil. 3.20: ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτήρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα... P. Herm. Rees 8 (= N.83) contains the common LXX expression 'man of God' which recurs in the N.T.: λοιπὸν, δέσποτα, ἀληθῶς θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε, καταξίωσον ἐ[ν] μνήμῃς ἔχειν ἡμᾶς (17-20); cf. 1 Tim. 6.11: Σὺ δέ, ὡ ἄνθρωπε θεοῦ, ταῦτα φεύγε. In P.Oxy. VIII.1161 (= N.60) the nearest parallel for 'beloved Son' is probably Mk 1.11 rather than Naldini's Eph. 1.6: ...καὶ τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἡμῶν σωτήρι καὶ τῷ οἰ[κ]ο[ν]ομῶν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ... (1-4); cf. Mk 1.11: Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα; and Eph. 1.6: ...τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἧς ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ... The same

letter in the succeeding lines has the familiar trichotomy at the conclusion of the opening prayer: ...ὅπως οὗτοι πάντες β[ο]ηθήσωσιν ἡμῶν τῷ σώματι, τῇ ψυχῇ, τῷ [[πν(εύματ)ι]] πν(εύματ)ι (4-7); cf. 1 Thess. 5.23: ...καὶ ὁλόκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τηρηθεῖη.

P.Harr. 107 (= N.5, third century) is another private letter with impressive language, which has the same trichotomy but with a different word-order. A debate has centred around two passages in lines 4-12 which have been claimed as gnostic rather than Christian; first, the alleged lack of a trinitarian formula: εὐχῶμαι τῷ πατρὶ θεῷ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῷ παρακλήτῳ πνεύματι (4-7; cf. Jn 14.26: ὁ δὲ παράκλητος, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον...; and Jn 14.17: τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,...); secondly, the elaborate 'soul, body, spirit' expression: ὅς σε διαφυλάξωσιν καὶ τὰ τε ψυχὴν κα<ι> σῶμα καὶ πνεῦμα· τῷ μὲν σώματι ὑγιάν, τῷ δὲ πνεύματι εὐθυμία, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ ζωὴν αἰώνιον (7-12; cf. 1 Thess. 5.23 *supra*, and 3 Jn 2: Ἀγαπητέ, περὶ πάντων εὐχῶμαί σε εὐδοῦσθαι καὶ ὑγιαίνειν, καθὼς εὐδοῦταί σου ἡ ψυχὴ. Henri Crouzel has recently argued that both expressions in this papyrus (from Besas to his mother) are Christian and can be explained in terms of the theology of Origen, but has been adequately answered by J. O'Callaghan.¹¹ The writer, Besas, need not have been a student of Origen or familiar with his works; it is also unlikely that he is the martyr soldier of Eusebius *H.E.* vi.41.

This leaves in the category of 'verbal echoes' only SB V.7872 (= N.75) where the text, though fragmentary, suggests the use of the Onesiphorus passage in 2 Tim.: ...διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν σου []φόρω οἴκῳ ὅτι πολλάκις [(11-12); cf. 2 Tim. 1.16: δῶν ἔλεος ὁ κύριος τῷ Ὀνησιφόρου οἴκῳ, ὅτι πολλάκις με ἀνέψυξεν... The difficulty about a citation here would seem to be the space available for such a direct use, but we lack the context prior to this; the elegant hand in which this script is written certainly increases the possibility that it was more than a private letter and thus more likely to have quoted Scripture.¹²

With biblical 'reminiscences' we are naturally more in the realms of conjecture. The following coincide with Naldini's list (Introd., pp.54-5). P.Gron. 17 (= N.24): ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο, θ(ε)δ(ε)ς μετὰ σοῦ (14-15); cf. Rom. 15.33: ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν...; and Lk. 1.28: ...Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. P.Oxy. XXXI.2603 (= N.47): ...καὶ εἶ τι αὐτοῖς ποιεῖς ἐμο[ῖ] ἐποίησας (28-9); cf. Mt. 25.40: ἐφ' ὅσον ἐποιήσατε ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐμοῖ ἐποιήσατε. The reminiscence in P.Lond. III.981 (= N.51), from the deacon John to his bishop, presupposes familiarity with Rom. 1: ἡ γὰρ εὐφροσύνη σου, πάτερ, περιεκτύλωσεν τὸν κ[ό]σμον ὅλον ὡς ἀγαθὸν πατέρα (8-11); cf. Rom. 1.8: ...ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ. P.Iand. II.14 (= N.59) is in my opinion a secure example, because whereas ὕψιστος θεός is pagan as well as Christian, ἐν ὑψίστῳ (-οις) is surely Hebraic and biblical:¹³ [εὐ]χῶμαι τῷ ἐν ὑψίστῳ θεῷ περὶ [τῆς] ὁλοκληρίας σου (3-4); cf. Lk. 2.14: Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ / καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη...; and Job 16.19: καὶ νῦν ἴδοθ' ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὁ μάρτυς μου, / ὁ δὲ συνίσταρ μου ἐν ὑψίστοις. Near the beginning of the eloquent letter of Demetrius to Flavianus, P.Oxy. VI.939 (= N.61), comes the expression ...ἡ πρὸς σε [τοῦ δεσπό]του θεοῦ γνώσις ἀνεφάνη ἅπασιν ἡμῖν...

(3-4); cf. Tit. 2.11: 'Επεφάνη γὰρ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις...; and Tit. 3.4: ὅτε δὲ ἡ χρησιμότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐπεφάνη τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ... In the case of SB V.7872 again (= N.75) although we lack the context, we may perhaps assume that the phrase ...διὰ [τῆ]ν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολῆ[ν]... (9) reflects Jn 13.34: ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους... With P.Herm. Rees 9 (= N.84), ...ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς ἀγαπητοὺς καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ κυρί[ο]υ μου ἐν πίστει... (16-20), cf. Tit. 3.15: ...Ἀσπασαί τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς ἐν πίστει...; and Lk. 11.28: Μενοῦν μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες.

To this list I suggest three other reminiscences may be added. First P.Heid. I.6 (= N.41): ...ἵνα δυνηθῶμεν μέρος τῶν <ἀμ>αρτιῶν καθαρίσσεως (12-14); cf. Heb. 1.3: ...καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος...; and 2 Pet. 1.9: ...λήθην λαβὼν τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ τῶν πάλαι αὐτοῦ ἀμαρτιῶν. Then in P.Oxy. XII.1494, the letter of Boethus has the phrase ὁδὸς εὐθεῖα - μά[[λ]]λειστα μὲν δεήσει καὶ ὑμᾶς εὐχεσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν, εἶν' οὕτως ἐπακούσῃ ὁ θαιὸς τῶν εὐχῶν ὑμῶν καὶ γένηται ἡμεῖν ὁδὸς εὐθεῖα (4-9). In a letter notable for its Christian sentiment (Dionysodora and her slave Achillis are greeted as 'sweetest brethren') this is the more likely to reflect the biblical parallels: Hos. 14.10: ...διότι εὐθεῖται αἱ ὁδοὶ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ δίκαιοι πορεύονται ἐν αὐταῖς...; Mt. 3.3: ...εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ; Ac. 13.10: ...οὐ καύσῃ διαστρέφων τὰς ὁδοὺς [τοῦ] κυρίου τὰς εὐθείας; P.Ross.-Georg. III.10 (= N.90) contains a rare adjective, Π[ρὸ] μὲν [πα]ντὸς ε[ὐ]χομε τῷ πανελεήμονι θεῷ... (4), which may broadly represent the language of Paul in 2 Cor. 1.3-4: ...ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως...

Finally, I draw attention to three examples cited by Naldini which are to be regarded as improbable. In the first, P.Mich. VIII.482 (= N.1) of A.D. 133, the judgment is crucial to a Christian attribution: ἐὰν ὁ [ἔ]θέλη[ς] ἐλθῆν καὶ λάβῃς [με] μετ' ἐσοῦ ἔ[ρ]χου, καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν [λά]βῃς μοι ἀκολουθήσω σοι καὶ [ὡ]ς φειλῶ σοι ὁ θεὸς ἐμὲ φειλήσῃ (14-17). Appeal is made to two passages: Ruth 1.16: ...ὅτι σὺ ὅπου ἐὰν πορευθῆς, πορεύσομαι, καὶ οὗ ἐὰν ἀλλισθῆς, ἀλλισθήσομαι· ὁ λαὸς σου λαὸς μου, καὶ ὁ θεὸς σου θεὸς μου; and Jn 16.27: αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ φιλεῖ ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ πεφιλήκατε... But the Ruth passage is forcibly expressed and marked by considerable verbal repetition, whereas our letter is surely a much more general sentiment; nor does Jn 16.27 really help. Similarly, in the well-known B.G.U. I.27 (= N.2) of II/III date, the biblical parallels for the 'will of God' are weak, and the expression is also pagan. τόπος in this context is most unlikely to refer to a church community¹⁴: ἀνήβην δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην τῇ κ̅ε̅ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς καὶ παρεδέξατο ἡμᾶς ὁ τόπος, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἠθέλην... (8-11).

This leaves the most interesting case of the undoubtedly Christian letter P.Oxy. XXXI.2603.¹⁵ Part only of the elaborate 'mirror' passage can be cited here: Τῷ ἑσώπτρου κτησαμένω ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο ἐν χειρὶ ἔχοντι ἐν οἷς τὰ πρόσωπα ἐνοπτρίζεται οὐ χρεῖα ἐστὶν τοῦ λέγοντος ἢ μαρτυροῦντος περὶ τοῦ αὐτῷ ἐπικειμένου χαρακτήρος... (3-6). This has a general similarity only with Jas 1.23: ὅτι εἴ τις ἀκροατὴς λόγου ἐστὶν καὶ οὐ ποιητὴς, οὗτος ἕοικεν ἀνδρὶ κατανοοῦντι τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑσώπτρῳ. In 1 Cor. 13.12 Paul uses the figure for incomplete knowledge:

βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι' ἑσώπτρου ἐν αἰνύγματι,...; but in our letter the whole description is very curiously applied: καὶ γὰρ ὡς δι' ἑσ[ό]πτρου κατ<ε>ῖδες τὴν πρὸς σέ μου ἔ[μ]φυτον στοργὴν καὶ ἀγάπην τὴν ἀεὶ νέαν (17-19). Naldini has cited some discussions of mirror language in Hellenistic thought, and Raoul Mortley in a forthcoming article shows that, whereas in Paul's use we have a commonplace of the period, Christian theologians made use of his phrase for much more sophisticated purposes. Clement of Alexandria in particular interprets it so as to reflect his own epistemology, which combines Platonist and Christian views of the mystic vision of God by way of the contemplation of Christ.¹⁶

The letters cited include a range of writers, from those whose Greek is very imperfect but who exhibit true Christian feeling to those who are not only ecclesiastics (where we might expect a sprinkling of biblical language) but in some cases other Christians of culture whose familiarity with Scripture is impressive, e.g. P.Heid. I.6, P.Oxy. VI.939 and XXXI.2603.¹⁷ The sum of such evidence is thus far small, but it does usefully supplement our picture of the biblical literacy of Christians in Egypt in this early period.

1. In the discussion of this topic I wish to thank particularly my colleagues at Macquarie University Prof. E.A. Judge, Dr. A.M. Emmett and Mr. S.R. Pickering.
2. P.D. Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* (1913) is still valuable: more important are H.I. Bell, 'Evidences of Christianity in Egypt during the Roman Period', *HThR* XXXVII, 1944, 185-208; id., *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1953); H. Metzger, 'Die frühchristliche Welt im Lichte der Papyri', *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte* X, 1952, 199-208.
3. e.g. Bell, *art. cit.*, 199ff.; C.H. Roberts, 'Early Christianity in Egypt: Three Notes', *JEA* XL, 1954, 92-3.
4. See B.M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, pp.36-42.
5. *art. cit.*, 93. I would be less cautious than J. van Haelst (*Proc. XII Intern. Congr. of Papyr.*, p.503) in this regard and expect that the movement had spread well beyond Alexandria by the end of the first century: cf. also L.W. Barnard, 'The Date of the Epistle of Barnabas', *JEA* XLIV, 1958, 101ff.
6. 'Christliche Papyri 1940-1967', *Archiv f. Pap.* XIX, 1969, 174-186: to this should be added *Aegyptus* LI, 1971, Testi nos. 12606-12616.
7. See Roberts, *art. cit.*, 93-5 and nn., particularly on P.Oxy. III.405, the fragment of Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*
8. P.Ryl. III, p.39.
9. See the recent full discussion of criteria in M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto* (Florence, 1968), *Introd.* pp.7-32.
10. *op. cit.*, *Introd.* pp.54-5.
11. R.P.H. Crouzel, 'La lettre du P.Harr. 107 et la théologie

d'Origène', *Aegyptus* XLIX, 1969, 138-43; J. O'Callaghan, 'Sobre la interpretación de P.Harr. 107', *id.* LII, 1972, 152-7. For earlier bibliography of the debate, see Naldini, *op. cit.*, p.76.

12. See S. de Ricci, *AIPhO* fasc. 2, 1934, 'Mélanges Bidez', 857.
13. Cf. C.P.J. II.xii, *Introd.* (where this distinction is not noted); C.H. Roberts et al., *HThR* XXIX, 1936, 65.
14. I accept it as equivalent to *collegium naviculariorum* (U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 524n.; Bell, *art. cit.*, 196).
15. First published by J.H. Harrop in *JEA* XLVIII, 1962, 132-40.
16. R. Mortley, 'The Mirror: 1 Cor. 13.12 in the Epistemology of Clement of Alexandria', to be published. See also J. Dupont, *Gnosis. La connaissance religieuse dans les épîtres de S. Paul* (1949); N. Hugedé, *La métaphore du miroir dans les épîtres de S. Paul aux Corinthiens* (1957); R. Mortley, *Connaissance religieuse et herméneutique chez Clément d'Alexandrie* (1974).
17. J. van Haelst (*art. cit.*, 502) thus speaks of the church presbyters, readers and deacons as coming largely from the social élite, i.e. the bourgeoisie of Egyptian city and country.

PHOENICIAN WOMEN DECAPITATED

by M. W. Haslam

The Phoenissae, if the number of papyri is anything to go by, was read more than any other play in Roman Egypt. Its popularity continued: it was not only one of the 'select' plays, it was up in front with the Hecuba and the Orestes as a member of the favoured 'triad'. It acquired more scholia than any other single play; it also acquired more than its fair share of accretions. It is one such accretion that I wish to treat of in this paper - not the ending, which has long been suspect, but the very beginning of the play.

The text of our modern printed editions is the text, a few insignificant variants apart, of the united medieval manuscripts. It is as follows:

Ὡς τὴν ἐν ἄστροις οὐρανοῦ τέμνων ὁδὸν
 καὶ χρυσοκολλητοῖσιν ἐμβεβῶς δίφροις
 Ἥλιε, θεοῖς ἵπποισιν εἰλίεσσιν φλόγα,
 ὡς δυστυχῆ θήβαισι τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρᾳ
 ἀκτῖν' ἐφῆκας, Κάδμος ἦνίχ' ἦλθε γῆν
 τῆνδ', ἐκλιπὼν φοίνισσαν ἐναλίαν χθόνα.

Now to the ancient evidence. First, two texts which directly attest the beginning of the play: two papyri. One is a fragment of a roll of the Phoenissae, to be dated in the late first or early second century; it was edited by David Hughes in his University of London doctoral thesis, and I am very grateful to him and to the Egypt Exploration Society for allowing me to mention it here. It has the upper part of two successive columns. The papyrus clearly has the top of both columns, and the first line of the first column, equally clearly, is the verse which we know as verse 3. Of verses 1-2 there is no sign. If there was a preceding column, it is lost, but I know of no instance of a play text beginning two lines from the bottom of a column, and the presumption is that the text presented by the papyrus commences at verse 3.

Without pausing to consider the possibility of this text's being some peculiar aberration, let us go on immediately to the second direct attestation. This is provided by the collection of hypotheses to Euripides' plays that was discussed by Professor Turner at the Ninth International Congress and published as P.Oxy. XXVII 2455. The order is alphabetical according to the first letter of the play title, and for each play the first verse is quoted, presumably as a check on identification, before the hypothesis is given. The Phoenissae follows the second Phrixus, on fr. 17 col. xx. Only a few traces of the quoted first line remain. They are reported as:

Φ [ο ε] γ ε ς α ι [ων αρ]χη
 τ [.] ρ ε [.] .. [] φ [

This is not Phoenissae 1: so much is clear. What it is is Phoenissae 3. When I had suggested that this was the case, Dr. Walter Cockle immediately had a look at the neighbouring fragment numbers and observed that

fr. 19, the first two lines of which are given as

]ων αρχη

]νειδιστ[

might in fact slot into fr. 17. Professor Turner, Dr. Cockle and myself have since been able to inspect the papyrus and confirm the acceptability both of the original suggestion and of the placing of fr. 19, and the reading as it now stands is

Φ[ο]ινισσαι ων αρχη

η[λ]ις [θο]α[ι]ς ιπποις]ν ειλις[ων] φ[λογ]α

Now these hypotheses do not have the didascalical and other erudite information provided by the hypotheses of Aristophanes of Byzantium, but the 'incipit' form that they follow, as Professor Pfeiffer has noted, goes back to the pinakes of Callimachus, and it would be hard to deny that the quoted first verse has scholarly authority of some kind behind it.

We have in this case, I believe, an unusual opportunity to get back beyond Alexandria to Athens in the early fourth century. Commentators on the Phoenissae have frequently 'compared' some verses of Theodectes, a younger contemporary of Aristotle, which apparently come from the beginning of one of his tragedies (fr. 10 Sn.-N²):

ᾧ καλλιφεγγῆ λαμπάδ' εἰλιςσων φλόγος
Ἦλιε, ποθεινὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἶλας,
εἶδέε' τιν' ἄλλον κόποι' εἰς οὕτω μέγαν
ἐλθόντ' ἀγῶνα καὶ δυσέκφρευκτον κρίσιν; κτλ.

An apostrophe to the Sun - and modelled, surely, on Phoen. 3: λαμπάδ' εἰλιςσων φλόγος mimics εἰλιςσων φλόγα. The reminiscence makes more sense if the Euripidean verse was known as the first line of the play than if it was known as the third; in fact I would almost go so far as to say that it makes sense only on that condition.

Euripides' play was utilized in a more thorough-going manner by Accius at Rome. Accius' Phoenissae began, like Euripides', with an apostrophe to the Sun by Jocasta:

Sol, qui micantem candido curru atque equis
flammas citatis fervido ardore explicas,
quianam tam adverso augurio et inimico omine
Thebis radiatum lumen ostentum tuum ... ?

Take, if you will, the first two lines as an expanded version solely of verse 3 of the original: Ἦλιε~ Sol, θοαῖς ἰπποισιν~ equis ... citatis, εἰλιςσων~ qui ... explicas, φλόγα~ flammam. This is not so much adaptation as word-for-word translation. What is there left over? micantem, candido curru atque, and fervido ardore. It might be unfair to call this mere padding, but it adds nothing to the substance. The only thing that might make for any doubt at all is candido curru. But is not 'with bright chariot' strangely anaemic as a rendering of

'mounted on gold-welded chariot'? and why does Accius' sun not carve his way among the stars? I suggest that just as micantem amplifies flammas, without qualifying it in any meaningful way, so does candido curru atque amplify equis citatis; and micantem candido is achieved. It is not a matter for great surprise if two independent expansions of 'Sun, rolling flame with swift horses' should each introduce a chariot. I submit that when asked to consider whether Accius' opening is more plausibly regarded as a version of Eurip. Phoen. 1-3 or of 3 alone, no-one will feel obliged to vacillate. If anyone should, let him look at the first word.

The implication, then, is that Accius, like Theodectes before him, knew the first verse of Euripides' Phoenissae as Ἦλιε θοαῖς ἰπποισιν εἰλιςσων φλόγα.

On an ostrakon discovered at Edfou in 1938-9 is written a strange and unsophisticated little song which goes (O. Edfou 326.2-6):

ἔπος δ' ἐφώνησεν τόδε·
κὸν τὸ κράτος, βασιλεῦ,
κὸν τὸ κράτος, ἱέραξ,
Ἦλιε θοαῖς ἰπποισιν εἰλιςσων φλόγα,
Ἦλιε θοαῖς ἰπποισιν εἰλιςσων φλόγα.

It is assigned a date towards the end of the Ptolemaic era. Whatever we make of the purpose of this farrago, the closing refrain is more readily explicable if the verse was known as the first line of the tragedy than if it was known as the third.

That, so far as I have discovered, is the extent of the documentary evidence down to the second century A.D. It comprises five items, variously from Athens, from Rome and from Egypt, and all unanimous, if my arguments are sound, in testifying as the opening verse of the Phoenissae what our manuscripts offer as verse 3.

There are more citations of v. 3 in later antiquity. We come across it in Macrobius' Saturnalia, and in a couple of late metrical works. But since these afford only arguable evidence of the actual initium, I do not propose to spend time on them. Of verses 1-2 in antiquity I find no trace.

With the ground thus prepared, we could now turn our critical attention to the text itself. But first I must mention a scholium which we find on the first two verses.

παλαιά τις φέρεται δόξα ὡς Σοφοκλῆς μὲν ἐπιτιμήσειεν Εὐριπίδῃ ὅτι μὴ προέταξε τούτους τοὺς δύο κτίχους, ὁ δὲ Εὐριπίδης ὅτι μὴ προέταξεν ἐν Ἠλέκτρῳ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς τὸ ᾧ τοῦ στρατηγῆσαντος ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτέ' (Soph. El. 1).

'There is an ancient tradition that Sophocles criticised Euripides for not prefixing these two lines, and that Euripides in turn criticised Sophocles for not prefixing, in the Electra, ᾧ τοῦ στρατηγῆσαντος ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτέ.' This has an obvious anecdotal sound to it, and it has been customary to dismiss it as so much nonsense. We see now that it deserved to be taken more seriously. For the premise of the story is that the Phoenissae was originally without verses 1-2 and that Sophocles' Electra was originally without verse 1.

To Sophocles' Electra we shall come back; meanwhile, the Phoenissae. It is not a very comfortable reflection that the first two verses have had to await the accession of the papyrus material in order to get their come-uppance. For even without Theodectes and Accius, they betray themselves as spurious. Let us indulge in a little post eventum wisdom. First of all, the sun has no business cleaving his way among stars. But they are the constellations of the zodiac, we are told - but we are not told it by Euripides; only by people who assert that ἄστρον must mean a constellation, not a star - which is not true. The normal relation of the sun to stars is a simple one: the sun puts the stars to flight. Documentation of the motif would exhaust my time and your patience. The virtual reversal of it entailed in the zodiacal interpretation is ineptly paradoxical in Jocasta's conventional and unclever prologue. Then, the prefatory lines are not quite perfectly welded on: the join shows. We have three participles, τέμνων, ἐμβεβώς and εἰλίττων, distributed either side of the vocative Ἥλιε. A vocative can be preceded by a participle with ὦ or it can be followed by a participle. With the expanded Phoenissae text, it is both at once: Ἥλιε has to straddle both participial phrases, and this seems to me stylistically horrid. Again, the three participles are all in the same position in the line. Is this impressive or dull? I feel it is dull. But the main and decisive objection to the three-line invocation is that it is grossly disproportionate. The apostrophe is a device for getting the play off the ground. 'It was a bad day for Thebes when Cadmus came here from Phoenicia' gets closer to its intellectual content. With the single-line apostrophe Ἥλιε θεοῦ ἵπποιον εἰλίττων φλόγα the tone is already pitched fairly high: in emotive force it rivals Medea's εἶθ' ὤφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπύσθαι κλάφος. With two ornamental lines piled on top - which say substantially nothing that is not said by verse 3 - it becomes bombastic and somewhat absurd.

It might be inferred, on the basis of the copious and unilateral ancient evidence, that the verses are an interpolation belonging either to late antiquity or to the early Byzantine era. But in view both of the quality of the verses themselves and of the total success of their invasion of the text, neither alternative is very attractive. Besides, there is the scholium to contend with; this will hardly permit the verses to have a late origin, for not only is it one of the ancient scholia, the δόξα it recounts was already παλαιά when it was first written. What about the verses themselves? They are good verses, which could not be said to lack τὸν Εὐριπίδειον χαρακτήρα. We have to ask not only when they could have been composed, but when, why and by whom they could have been put at the head of the play. And the most obvious set of answers, to which I see no reasonable alternative, is early, to make a more impressive declamatory opening, and by the actor playing Jocasta. Such an audacious and stylistically competent addition one will be inclined to attribute to the fourth or third century B.C., and certainly not to any time later than the second century A.D. So we must explain, if we can, how it is that they remained submerged until their eventual triumphant resurrection in the middle ages. In fact it

is not too difficult to envisage a plausible process of transmission. Aristophanes of Byzantium had reason to believe the verses interpolated. He may merely have had variant texts (among them the official Athenian one without the verses?), he may have known too of the anecdote of our scholium. Accordingly he obelized the lines in his master-text. A nice problem: which verse should be quoted as the initium, the obelized one or the authentic one? We may approve the choice. Ordinary texts subsequently commenced at the true initium, and that verse, if it was not already so, became well-known. But in the scholarly tradition the false opening lived on, condemned but not allowed to perish. And if it was so kept alive, it was destined, almost inevitably, to lose its stigmata and be accepted for what it pretended to be.

There is here one very clear implication for the constitution of the text of Euripides. In the case of the opening of the Phoenissae we have the most solid evidence one could hope for of interpolation in the medieval manuscripts. The text that was current throughout antiquity commenced at what we have always known as verse 3. The evidence on this point is remarkably voluminous. Yet the medieval manuscripts are united in prefacing two extra verses, and the doubt cast on those verses by the scholia is so equivocal that no-one in modern times seems ever to have considered them anything other than authentic. Where we do have express testimony of interpolation, we shall do well to heed it. And we can be unhappily sure that there exist interpolations which have lost all external indication of their alien origin.

Soph. El.1 does not quite fall into this last category, for the Phoenissae scholium puts it on the same footing as Phoen.1-2. However, until we know the genesis of the palaea doxa, we are perhaps not bound to accept this interdependence. The opening lines of the Electra, as transmitted, are as follows:

Ὁ τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ
 Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ, γῦν ἐκεῖν' ἐξετί σοι
 παρόντι λεύσσειν, ὦν πρόθυμος ἦσθ' αἰί.
 τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν Ἄργος οὐπόθεισ τόδε,
 τῆς οἰστροπλήγος ἄλκος Ἰνάχου κόρης·
 αὐτῆ δ', Ὀρέστα, τοῦ λυκοτόνου θεοῦ
 ἄγορὰ Λύκειος·

In the first draft of this paper I had outlined various stylistic arguments attempting to objectify so far as possible my conviction that so stilted and so feeble a verse as the traditional v.1 was unacceptable as the opening line and should be thrown out to allow El.2 to take its place at the head of the play. Those arguments I can now jettison, because they are superfluous. Professor Handley has reminded me of a piece of pornography which I gladly substitute for my less entertaining disputation. Mania, an Athenian prostitute, had an affair, or at least a sexual encounter, with Demetrius Poliorcetes, King of Macedonia. According to Machon, to whom we owe much of our disreputable information about the famous, she agreed to do Demetrius a favour if he would do her one (226-30 Gow). Demetrius' side of the bargain fulfilled, Mania turned round and invited him to avail himself of the reciprocal favour

with these words: 'Αγαμέμνωνος καὶ, νῦν ἔχειν' ἔξεστί σοι. Gow calls the story unedifying, and so in itself of course it is, but we can make it serve a more respectable end than Mania's. Such an innocuous verse: not, one would have thought, a verse to attract such a scurrilous application - not, that is, unless it had that especial claim to memorability automatically enjoyed by a tragedy's opening line.

The jest was not Mania's own. On its first occasion it was more genuinely witty. One of the most celebrated tragic actors of the fourth century was Theodorus. Before a competition in which he was to perform, so Plutarch informs us (Mor. 737ab), he and his wife refrained from sexual intercourse. We are not actually told that the play was Sophocles' Electra, but who will doubt it, when the words with which his wife greeted him on his victorious return were 'Αγαμέμνωνος καὶ, νῦν ἔχειν' ἔξεστί σοι' ?

It is hoped that a fuller version of this paper will appear in Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 16, 1975. It includes later thoughts and later evidence: the latter in the form of a second or third century papyrus codex with a text of the Phoenissae commencing at v. 3.

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN ASPECTS IN MENANDER'S SAMIA
Heinz Hofmann

Since the publication of the Bodmer Papyrus XXV we know that the action of the Samia developed in a rather different way than Sudhaus, Wilamowitz and many other scholars had believed, but the crucial point of whether Chrysis has born a baby or not, has not found a definite answer in the new parts either. Therefore it may be legitimate to raise the question again whether one could explain the action without an alleged baby by Chrysis and Demeas, and whether, without that assumption, action and plot would appear even more subtle and more deliberately composed. In the light of the new evidence it may be possible to establish a certain probability in favour of this thesis and to surpass the arguments of other scholars which were put forward before the recent discoveries. Only Christina Dedoussi (and, recently, convinced by her arguments, the late T.B.L. Webster in AJP 94, 1973, 206f.) did not believe in a baby born by Chrysis and defended her opinion already in her commentary on the Cairo fragments in 1965 and, after the recent discoveries, during the "Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique" in Vandoeuvres-Genève in 1969. I agree fully with her and hope to be able to confirm her interpretation by several new arguments from different aspects.

In the following I shall take as a starting-point that Chrysis did not give birth to a child, and, consistently, show how this fact harmonizes with the rest of the play as preserved in the Bodmer Papyrus. I shall elaborate this hypothesis step by step, closely following the development of the action.

The place where a possible birth by Chrysis was supposed to have been mentioned, was in the last part of Moschion's prologue where in l. 56 several scholars tried to restore a form of τίκτεῖν. But neither ἔτικτε]ν nor τέτοκε]ν nor ἔτεκε]ν turned out as possible and satisfying supplements of the beginning of this line. I think that all attempts to reconstruct a sentence like "Quite by chance Chrysis gave birth" must remain unsuccessful. At least I cannot see what καὶ μάλα/ἔτικτε]ν should mean and why the stress was laid upon the fact that Chrysis' confinement came off very well: On the contrary, it was not so because those who try to defend this or a similar reading, are compelled to suppose that Chrysis' baby was either still-born or died shortly afterwards. But we must not argue so subtly: The papyrus clearly reads καὶ μάλα, and it is methodically very delicate to change μάλα in μάλ' εὖ without knowing exactly what was the first word in l. 56, or to restore the gap at the beginning of l. 56 by imputing an error to the copyist just in order to save one's own conjecture. I think

we must leave the text as it is transmitted what leads to the necessary conclusion that in l. 55f. there was no place for any mention of an alleged birth by Chrysis. But I can inform you of the proposal made by Dr. H.-D. Blume in his just published interpretation of the Samia: He understands εἴληφ' in l. 55 not as εἴληφα but as εἴληφε the subject of which is ἡ Χρυσίς. So he reads:

τὸ π]αιδίον γενόμενον εἴληφ' οὐ πάλα
 ἡ Χρυσίς

and in paranthesis: - ἀπὸ] ταύτομάτου δὲ συμβέβηκε καὶ μάλα
 ἐς καιρό]γ -

Apart from whether ἐς καιρό]γ is right or not, it seems an extremely sound proposal. Its main virtue is that we can leave the text as it stands without any alteration, and ἐς καιρό]γ is, even exempli gratia, better than the restorations mentioned before. The new sense resulting from this reading would be that after the baby (of Plangon and Moschion) was born, Chrysis took it into her house. This happened quite by chance and just in time because - we have to assume - the return of Demeas and Nikeratos was expected every day, and one has agreed to make Demeas believe that it was his and Chrysis' child. This is, of course, the intrigue which is the starting-point of the whole action and which generates the errors and misunderstandings of the play.

Now, it strikes one that the intrigue is put forward in l. 77ff. just in passing without a longer debate to follow. This may give way to the suggestion that this plan has already been discussed or mentioned in one way or another in the lacuna after l. 56, either in the prologue or in the first scene of the first act. An indication can be found in the remark in l. 78 οὕτως ἔωμεν ὡς ἔχει. If they can leave the matter like that, they must have discussed it before; whether on stage or off stage (and then reported to the audience in Moschion's prologue), does not matter. The second point is: Chrysis must τρέφειν the baby and pretend to be its mother. Now, in τρέφειν most scholars see the explicit proof that Chrysis must have borne a baby, too, otherwise she would be unable to nourish it. But what does τρέφειν actually mean? "To feed or suckle an infant" is only a very small subsection; at first and above all it means "cause to grow" or "increase, bring up, rear" in a broadest sense: children, slaves, dogs, cattle, parts of the body and so on; then generally "maintain, support, bring up, rear, educate". Therefore also males can say that they τρέφουσιν a baby or a child, as for instance Daos in the Epitrepontes 75 and perhaps Moschion about Demeas in Samia 10, and even if it is said of women it does not necessarily

involve the actual feeding or suckling of the baby, but the stress usually lays on the upbringing, rearing and educating: so in Sikyonioi fr. 371 Koerte = fr. 1 Kassel, Pseudherakles fr. 453 Koerte, Perikeiromene 365, and even in the Samia there are some instances where doubtless this meaning prevails: In l. 135 Demeas says ἀλλ' ἢ μ[ε θ]ρέφειν ἔγδον ὄδον προσδοκᾷ νόθον; and again 279 ἐμοῦ τρέφειν ἀκοντος. There remain four instances where the scholars thought to see a reference to Chrysis' alleged ability of nursing Plangon's baby: Apart from l. 78 in l. 316 ff. , ὅτι δὲ ἐκεῖνον αὐτὸ νῦν αὐτὴ τρέφει . l. 410 f. ἤκουσα καὶ τὸς τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅτι τρέφεις ἀνελομένη παιδάριον. l. 523 οὐχὶ Χρυσίς ἐστὶ μήτηρ οὐ τρέφει νῦν παιδίου.

I should like to affirm that in these passages, too, the only fact which Parmeno, Demeas, Nikeratos, and Moschion have in mind, is that Chrysis took the baby into Demeas' house and reared it. Whether she also was able to nourish it, does not matter here. This may be most obvious in the last example with Moschion's words, but it is also meant by Nikeratos and Demeas in their respective utterances: Chrysis dares to keep the child and to bring it up - that makes Demeas furious, not the nursing which is, in this case, of secondary importance for he knew already that she was rearing a λάθροισ υἱός.

On the other hand I am fully prepared to agree that there is a certain ambiguity left in the use of τρέφειν in ll. 78, 318, and 410, and I am inclined to interpret this as an intentional ambiguity by Menander which corresponds to some other ambiguous expressions which will play an important rôle in the further development of the action. I shall return to this point later, but we should try to understand Parmeno's words in l. 77ff. in the sense just explained.

In the second scene of the second act (l. 127 ff.) where Demeas, after his return, meets Moschion, we hear that Demeas already knows that there is a baby in his house and has been told that he himself and Chrysis are its parents. He does not bluntly reject the child or demand its removal, but he is not happy either about this λάθροισ υἱός. Anyway his comparatively mild reaction is in a sharp contrast to the reaction which was ascribed to him by those scholars who believed that Chrysis had to get rid of her and Demeas' (supposed) child in order to prevent an angry outburst of the old man. Therefore we may explain the reason for the intrigue as follows: Plangon and Moschion were expecting the arrival of their fathers by any day. If Plangon had kept the baby in her house on the day of the arrival, she would have risked a terrible outburst of

her father Nikeratos and an incalculable action which could have led to bloodshed or, at least, to the cancellation of her marriage to Moschion (she could, of course, not know that Nikeratos and Demeas had already agreed upon the marriage of their children). If the baby, however, could be brought up in Demeas' house it was easy to declare it Chrysis' and Demeas' child. The idea must have been that Demeas, being the educated and humanely thinking man whom Moschion depicted in the prologue, would at least tolerate its existence until Moschion and Plangon would be married and the identity of the child could be revealed. In addition, Demeas' house was much bigger and had got quite a number of rooms where it would be easy and not dangerous for Plangon, the true mother, to nourish her child secretly whereas in Nikeratos' small house the truth would have come out very soon. Later in the fourth act this speculation proves right.

The situation changes completely when during the preparations for the wedding Demeas by chance hears the truth about the child's father and discovers that he was intentionally deceived by the members of his household. The climax is reached when he, according to his own words in l. 265f., sees the Samia $\delta\upsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\ \tau\upsilon\tau\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ - literally "giving the child her breast" This is proof enough for him that Chrysis is the baby's mother and Moschion its father. In fact, this passage seems to be so obvious that any doubts about Chrysis' confinement should be outruled. If, however, we are determined to exclude this, we must try to overcome this difficulty by a careful interpretation. For there is indeed the possibility that Demeas was in a certain way mistaken and fell victim to a misunderstanding. I think we must understand the words $\delta\upsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\ \tau\upsilon\tau\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ not in their literal sense: Chrysis was actually not feeding the baby but just taking it to her breast in order to stop it crying and calm it down. Such a behaviour may be easily understood when considering the circumstances under which it happened: Everybody in Demeas' house is busy with the preparations for the wedding, there is a permanent coming and going upstairs downstairs - no wonder that the baby, left alone in a corner, starts crying. One tries to put it away, at least out of Demeas' sight whose attitude towards this $\nu\delta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ is still rather reserved. Chrysis, in spite of her position the very mistress of the house, has got no sparetime for the child, and so the old nurse tries to calm it. Her incautious way of speaking to it is stopped by the young servant-girl, and while she rushes away - so we have to imagine, for Demeas does not tell all particulars - Chrysis comes and tries to soothe the child again. She does this in a very intimate way by which her sincere affection towards Plangon's baby and also a main trait in her character is depicted in a very positive and charming way: She takes it tenderly to her

breast as if she were the mother so that the baby may calm down and feel comfortable again. We must remember that all the time before, the child was brought up by Chrysis in Demeas' house and was therefore used to Chrysis, though Plangon, its real mother, visited it very often and also had to feed it. There was an excellent and friendly relation between the women of the two houses, in spite of Chrysis being just an hetaira. This can be seen from Moschion's words in l. 35ff.: $\phi\lambda\upsilon\alpha\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma/\Sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\nu\ \delta\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\prime\ \eta\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho,\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\epsilon/\pi\lambda\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\sigma\iota\prime\ \eta\nu\ \pi\alpha\rho\prime\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\varsigma\ \eta\delta\epsilon,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\upsilon\ \kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon/\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\lambda\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\prime\ \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu.$

Therefore Chrysis' behaviour is not so strange as it may seem at first, and Menander could have used such an action to serve his purpose of creating misunderstanding and confusion which he chose as motivating powers in the development of the plot. On the very day now of Demeas' and Nikeratos' return when also the wedding between Moschion and Plangon should take place it was rather difficult to find a proper time and place for Plangon to feed the baby. For, Moschion and Plangon had to wait with the revelation of their parentage until after the wedding. Whether Chrysis knew of Demeas' presence in the pantry or not, does not matter. In any case her behaviour fitted to the plan according to which she had to play the rôle of the baby's mother. When Demeas saw her "nursing" the child it was not an unexpected surprise neither for him nor for Chrysis, but rather a welcome demonstration that she and Demeas were really the parents (Chrysis, of course, did not know at this very moment that Demeas had witnessed the old nurse's talk and was informed about the true father of the child she pretended to be her's). We must remember, as I said before, that Demeas after his return was made believe that Chrysis had borne a baby. Therefore the "nursing"-scene was not necessary at all from the point of information: It had only the emotional function of convincing Demeas to the uttermost and to spread the twilight of ambiguity again over the scene - of an ambiguity which we saw already in $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\iota\nu$ in l. 78. If we are prepared to accept Demeas' discovery of the "nursing" Chrysis as an error which under these circumstances, however, was quite excusable, this error is the most crucial one in a series of other errors and misunderstandings which are basis and motor of the whole action. Demeas now turns out to be a man who sees and does not see (cp. $\delta\rho\omega$ in l. 265). He sees part of the truth - Chrysis "nursing" the baby -, but not the whole truth: that she is not actually feeding it. His remark in l. 213 $\omicron\upsilon\delta\prime\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega,\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\eta\nu\ \text{Ἀθηναῖν},\ \omicron\delta\delta[\alpha\ \nu\theta\nu/\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\prime$... becomes true in an ominous and quite different way than he means. $\delta\rho\omega$ of l. 265 has the same value as

Demeas' later allegations that he knows everything (l. 466 πάντ' οἶδα l. 477 οἶδ' ἀκήκω) but in fact he knows and does not know, he sees and does not see, he hears and does not hear.

Yet another scene shows how masterly Menander has built up his comedy and the change of the mutual misunderstandings: When the confusion has reached its peak in l. 520 and Nikeratos has disappeared into his house, things start to go round the other way: Moschion confesses to Demeas that he and Plangon are the baby's parents. Before he can explain the whole intrigue, the explanation comes from Nikeratos' side who in his turn has to make a discovery analogous to Demeas: l. 532ff.

τὴν θυγάτηρ' <ἀρτι> τὴν ἐμὴν τῷ παιδίῳ
τιτθίου διδοῦσαν ἔνδον κατέλαβον.

But in this case - and that is the irony which proves Menander's art - the observation is true: Plangon, the mother of the baby, "gives it her breast" and nurses it. Let us shortly remember the reasons why the child was brought up in Demeas house and compare them with the present situation: If Chrysis had also borne a child which either died or was exposed, and if she really had been able to nurse Plangon's baby in Demeas' house: If this had been done because everybody was afraid of Nikeratos' reaction when he would see Plangon nursing the baby: Why, so I ask, did Plangon now nurse the child in her father's house and risk a dangerous outburst with unforeseeable consequences, although Chrysis was in Nikeratos' house, too, and it would have been the simplest and most reasonable thing to let Chrysis go on nursing the baby? Why, therefore, risk everything shortly before the wedding whereas there was far better reason to go on with the intrigue under the present circumstances than to abandon it? When Nikeratos took Chrysis and her baby into his house, he and Demeas were still of the opinion the baby was Chrysis' own child. Nothing, therefore, could have raised Nikeratos' suspicion when he saw her feeding the child; she could have done this even in his presence without fearing to disclose their plan. But why, for heaven's sake, did Chrysis now, in the most delicate situation, not play her rôle as the baby's alleged mother, why did the women not further stick to their intrigue where there was no reason to abolish it, but every reason to maintain it? The only possible answer can be: Because Chrysis had not borne and was, therefore, not able to feed Plangon's child. It is also important that Plangon began nursing the baby only when Nikeratos had left the house and was supposed to spend some time outside with Demeas in order to speak with him about Chrysis. This was the best and only opportunity to feed the baby - the bigger was the surprise when he returned shortly afterwards and caught Plangon, so to say, in flagranti.

Nikeratos' outburst is the most stringent and obvious proof for the fact that Demeas was mistaken when he saw Chrysis taking the crying child to her breast: In fact she just tried to soothe the baby, but did not and could not feed it. Demeas' interpretation of his discovery is the main cause for the misunderstandings and confusions which arise in the following scenes. The irony and the very point, however, is that this observation was itself a misunderstanding, all the excitements, all the trouble, were groundless - "much ado about nothing". Don't we recognize in this irony Menander's spirit and genius more truly than in that other interpretation?

Suddenly now the rôles change: Nikeratos gets furious and rages as Demeas did before when he had seen Chrysis giving the baby her breast: He calls himself ἐμμανής in l. 534 which corresponds to Demeas' fury uttered several times before:

- l. 216f. σκέψασθε πρότερόν· εἶ φρονῶ/ἢ μάινου'...
says Demeas of himself;
- l. 361 μαίνόμενος εἰσοδεδράμηκεν εἰσω τις γέρων
the cook comments on Demeas' behaviour;
- l. 363 νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, μάινεθ' ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ
(spoken by the cook, too)
- l. 416 Δημέας χολῆ Nikeratos comforts Chrysis after she
was expelled from Demeas' house;
- l. 447 καταπιῶν τὴν χολήν Demeas says and confesses
to Moschion in l. 703 ἠγνόησ', ἥμαρτον, ἐμάνην

But there is also another parallel between the two men: Demeas saw Chrysis giving the baby her breast:

- l. 265f. τὴν Σαμίαν ὄρω/... διδοῦσαν τιτθίου
and Nikeratos, too, saw Plangon giving the baby her breast:
l. 533 εἰσιδῶν , l. 536 τιτθίου διδοῦσαν ἔνδον κατέλαβον
and repeating his discovery in almost the same words in l. 540f.:
διδοῦσαν τιτθίου τῷ παιδίῳ
ἀρτίως ἔνδον κατέλαβον τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ θυγάτηρα,
cp. l. 546 ἀλλὰ μὴ[ν] εἶδον . We have a highly elaborated
reflecting of events: Twice the same event, but the first time
unreal, the second time real.

Moschion's confession towards his father is strengthened by Nikeratos' words, and so is his fury which seem to Moschion proof enough that he and Plangon are the baby's parents. Demeas now also knows the truth: l. 537 οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖς, Μοσχίων ἐγὼ δὲ σέ / ὑπονοῶν τοιαῦτα . At once he sees through everything: It was indeed Chrysis who was "joking" when giving the baby her breast. Now he has completely mastered the situation and is even able to joke himself and to tease poor Nikeratos. What he, Demeas, knows of Chrysis, i.e. that she hasn't

got a baby, he tries to talk into Nikeratos: that he was mistaken and did not see properly: l. 542 τυχὸν ἔκαυρον , l. 543 τυχὸν ὥσως ἔδοξε ἰσοι, , l. 545 ἀπίστον πρᾶγμα μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν , l. 546 κορυζῆς . And another reflecting of events: l. 427 Nikeratos said of Demeas: σκατοφάγετ , now Demeas calls Nikeratos σκατοφάγος in l. 550. Everything goes the other way round, also for Chrysis: In l. 568ff. she is again expelled from the house, but this time by Nikeratos and taken back by Demeas into his house. The scene corresponds to the famous scene in act III which is represented on the Mytilene mosaic.

The Bodmer Papyrus gave us evidence that at least from the third act onwards there is no mention of the alleged baby of Chrysis. If she had borne a child it should have been mentioned in one way or another in the fourth act. It is true, this is an argumentum e silentio. But it is strengthened by the dramatical development of the action itself as I already pointed out: Demeas' observation has a parallel in Nikeratos' observation which proves that Demeas was mistaken. The audience was already informed about the intrigue and knew that Plangon and Moschion were the baby's parents. Nikeratos' discovery in l. 535ff. was no surprise to them. So Menander left it up to the audience to recognize Chrysis' "nursing" as an error by Demeas; they were helped by the deliberate composition of the plot with parallelisms and reflections. The audience, therefore, did not need an explicit statement about the very nature of Chrysis' nursing. For the characters in the play, explanation, if necessary at all, can be assumed off-stage between act IV and V. Here Chrysis may have explained to Demeas her alleged nursing and how the whole intrigue was planned and had worked.

There is still a last instance in act V which may show that Chrysis did not give birth to a baby. In l. 645ff. Parmeno the slave recapitulates the events which happened before the beginning of the comedy and which were necessary for the understanding of the action: Moschion's ἀμαρτία towards a free-born girl (Plangon); Plangon's pregnancy; the reception of the baby into Demeas' house where Moschion himself brought it to Chrysis; the Samia's offer to declare it as her own child. Nowhere he speaks of a baby of Chrysis herself which might have died or been exposed, but only that she agreed to pretend that Plangon's baby was hers. If something like this had happened, it should have been mentioned by Parmeno, because Chrysis' way of acting and the whole intrigue, then, would have appeared in a different light. The fact, however, that there is no mention of it in Parmeno's monologue, may also weigh in favour of my interpretation.

If we ask, finally, what we do gain by this interpretation in comparison with the traditional one, we can say that the construction of the plot turns out more ingenious and of higher artistic and aesthetic qualities. The interaction between the characters becomes more subtle, the intrigue itself more inspired, Chrysis' unselfish offer to cooperate shows her positive, "unhairetical" character in a still more sympathetic light. The whole action seems more refined, and the poet's true genius is better reflected if Demeas' observation was due to a deception, to a misunderstanding which became the source of all the following misunderstandings in the play.

Timothy T. Renner:

"A new fragment on Ptolemaic history" (Summary)

P. Mich. Inv. 6648, dating from the first century B.C. (or perhaps the early first A.D.), contains parts of at least two columns of prose literary narrative dealing with military operations. Ships, land forces, marches, encampments, and a city are mentioned in close proximity in the text. Of the two opposing sides, the one is probably the forces of the Ptolemies. That the other is a foreign power is possible, but it should be noted that the text talks about τοὺς Ἕλληνας and Αἱ Ἰγυπτίους, which suggests that the conflict may be with rebellious Egyptian natives. An operation against insurgents would fit well into what we know of the internal affairs of Egypt during the early second century. However, the fragmentary state of the text allows for many doubts as to exactly who is on whose side.

A Πολυκράτης - perhaps to be identified with the general of Philopator and of Epiphanes mentioned by Polybius (esp. 5.64.4-6, 22.17) and by inscriptional evidence - is mentioned several times. Α Πτολεμαῖος also occurs. The only place name is τὸν Βερηνίης? . . . Πισαμῶν.

U. RAE I A m. 51.

Un sens méconnu de θυρίς et de fenestra (1),

G. Husson, Rouen.

Mon propos est de montrer que le mot grec θυρίς et son correspondant latin fenestra, dont le sens le plus courant est fenêtre, ont été employés en Egypte pour désigner aussi une niche murale (2).

Je commencerai par des constatations archéologiques : les rapports de fouilles signalent comme un trait constant de l'architecture des habitations égyptiennes les cavités ménagées dans l'épaisseur des murs. Ces renforcements étaient ou bien des sortes de sanctuaires domestiques - certains étaient décorés de peintures - ou bien, et c'est le cas le plus fréquent, ils avaient une fonction utilitaire, c'est-à-dire qu'ils servaient de placards. La présence de niches dans les maisons gréco-romaines a été constatée par exemple à Apollinopolis Magna (3) et dans la plupart des villages du Fayoum (4). L'usage en est toujours attesté dans l'Egypte byzantine, car on trouve des niches murales dans la plupart des établissements monastiques (5).

Ce recours à l'architecture monastique n'est pas fortuit, car ce sont des textes relatifs aux moines d'Egypte qui contiennent l'argumentation la plus solide en faveur du sens de "niche murale" donné au mot θυρίς. Le passage le plus explicite est une traduction latine de la Règle de Saint Pachôme due à Saint Jérôme (Migne, Patrologia latina 23, § 100) : "Codices qui in fenestra, id est in risco parietis reponuntur, ad vesperum erunt sub manu secundi qui numerabit eos et ex more concludet". "Les livres qui sont déposés dans la fenestra, c'est-à-dire dans un coffre du mur, seront vers le soir entre les mains de l'adjoint qui les comptera et les enfermera selon l'habitude." L'expression "in fenestra, id est in risco parietis" montre clairement que fenestra est un placard découpé dans l'épaisseur d'un mur.

L'usage de placer les livres dans une fenestra est encore attesté au § 82 de Règle de Saint Pachôme ; il est question de la pauvreté du moine qui ne doit rien posséder personnellement : "Que personne ne garde pour soi de petite pince pour enlever les épines sur lesquelles on aurait mis le pied, excepté le responsable de la maison et l'adjoint ; et que la pince soit accrochée dans la niche où les livres sont placés " (pendeatque in fenestra in qua codices collocantur).

A côté de ces préceptes connus par la traduction latine de Jérôme, nous disposons de plusieurs textes de la littérature hagiographique grecque qui attestent la même coutume, à savoir le rangement des livres dans une θυρίς ou son diminutif θυρίδιον.

D'abord, pour en finir avec Pachôme, la Vita Prima Sancti Pachomii donne cette indication au § 59 : καὶ τὰ βιβλία, ἐν θυριδίῳ κειμένα, ὑπὸ τῆν φροντίδα πάλιν τῶν δύο ἦσαν. "Et les livres, placés dans la petite θυρίς, étaient à nouveau sous la surveillance des deux" (c'est-à-dire le responsable de la maison et l'adjoint).

Les Apophtegmata Patrum ont conservé plusieurs récits où l'on voit des livres ainsi rangés. Citons le texte où Abba Ammoes invite ses compagnons à se détacher des biens terrestres ; devant leurs hésitations il leur cite une attitude exemplaire : "En vérité j'ai vu certains hommes s'enfuir et laisser les niches (θυρίδια) blanchies à la chaux avec des livres ; et ils ne fermèrent même pas les θυρίδας mais s'en allèrent en les laissant ouvertes" (Migne, Patrologia Graeca 65, 128 B) (6).

Un argument de plus à l'appui de cet emploi de θυρίς est fourni par le copte. En effet le mot ⲙⲟⲩⲩⲧ, dont le correspondant grec est toujours θυρίς, désigne dans plusieurs cas une niche murale. Le Coptic Dictionary de W.A. Crum indique ce sens de "niche, alcove". Un texte du Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in John Rylands Library (n° 94 p. 47) mentionne une icône en or du Christ dans une niche (ⲙⲟⲩⲩⲧ) creusée dans un mur (7).

Si θυρίς a bien été employée en Egypte pour désigner une niche murale, il conviendrait, me semble-t-il, de lui donner ce sens dans plusieurs papyrus au lieu de recourir à la traduction habituelle qui est "fenêtre" ou "rebord de fenêtre". Un ostracon d'Éléphantine, le SB V. 7574, que l'on date du IIe siècle av. notre ère, est un billet adressé par un certain Stratonicos à sa femme. On lit aux lignes 5-7 : "donne-leur le reçu qui se trouve dans la θυρίς du vestibule" (ἐκ τῆς θυρίδος τῆς προστάδος). Dans une lettre écrite à sa famille au IIIe siècle de notre ère, P. Ross. Georg. III, 1, un médecin de l'armée donne, entre autres, cette consigne : "et ainsi que je te l'écris dans chaque lettre, secoue mes traités de médecine et enlève-les de la θυρίς, (ἄρον αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος), ceux que j'ai laissés en partant" (lignes 17-18).

Dans les deux cas, qu'il s'agisse du reçu ou des livres de médecine, ce sont des documents précieux que l'on devait ranger soigneusement et pour lesquels l'appui de fenêtre constituait, me semble-t-il, un abri précaire. De plus la traduction de θυρίς par "rebord de fenêtre" s'accorde mal avec les données de l'archéologie. D'une part les fenêtres des maisons égyptiennes étaient généralement placées haut dans les murs, souvent immédiatement au-dessous du plafond ; elles étaient donc peu accessibles. D'autre part leurs appuis étaient fréquemment en pente, ce qui ne permettait guère d'y déposer des objets (8). Les niches au contraire étaient placées habituellement à hauteur d'appui, leur bord inférieur à 1 m. ou 1 m.10 du sol (9).

Ma démonstration ne serait complète que si nous connaissions la découverte in situ, dans les niches murales, de papyrus ou d'ostraca. Or en consultant les rapports de fouilles, j'ai trouvé deux exemples auxquels je me réfère. Le premier est emprunté à l'ouvrage de B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt

et D.G. Hoggarth, Fayûm Towns and their papyri : les auteurs indiquent p.52 que six ostraca du IIIe siècle de notre ère, qui sont tous des reçus au nom d'un certain Sodikes, étaient "resting on a niche in the wall". La maison où ces ostraca furent trouvés était située à Harit, l'antique Théadelphie. La seconde découverte est due aux archéologues allemands F. Zucker et W. Schubart. Le journal des fouilles qu'ils effectuèrent en 1909 et 1910 a été publié dans l'Archiv für Papyrusforschung 21 de 1971. Je lis p. 38 que, lors de la fouille d'une maison de Dimê, l'ancienne Socnopaiou Nêsos, ils trouvèrent "in einer Nische desselben Raumes... ein fast völlig zermürbte und zerfaserte griechische Rolle".

Ce sens de niche murale donné à θυρίς devrait, me semble-t-il, éclairer une expression du P. Oxy. XVI. 2058 qui date du VIe siècle de notre ère ; c'est la liste des objets qui ont été pris dans la maison d'un prêtre et notable du village de Spania dans l'Oxyrhynchite. La ligne 24 porte : σίδηρα τῶν θυριδίων μ νο(μίσματα) δ. G. Rouillard, dans la Vie rurale dans l'Empire byzantin, traduit (p. 56) σίδηρα τῶν θυριδίων par "ferrures de fenêtres". Or Σίδηρα n'est pas attesté en ce sens et le contexte montre qu'il ne peut s'agir d'installations fixes : les θυρίδια ne sont donc pas des fenêtres. Le mot pourrait désigner des niches murales ; en ce cas les σίδηρα seraient des objets en fer, sans doute des outils agricoles, qui s'y trouveraient déposés (10). La construction avec le génitif θυριδίων indiquant que les objets sont placés dans les niches a un parallèle à la ligne 25 avec une τράπεζα τοῦ ἀγκουβτικ(ουλου?), c'est-à-dire la table qui est dans la chambre à coucher. Le sens d'outils en fer donné à σίδηρα s'accorderait avec la ligne 16 où est mentionnée "une autre petite corbeille (?) ayant 8 faucilles, 1 sou". A la ligne 24 les 40 instruments en fer représentent une valeur de 4 sous, ce qui est cohérent avec la ligne 16.

Pour terminer je m'aventurerai hors de l'Egypte en signalant que dans la comédie de Plaute intitulée Casina se trouve un emploi de fenestra pour lequel le sens d'armoire murale convient beaucoup mieux que celui de fenêtre. Un esclave menace un de ses compagnons de "l'enfermer solidement dans une fenestra" (concludere in fenestram firmiter, vers 132). (11). Il ajoute que sa victime pourra, de cette prison, tout entendre ce qui se dit à l'intérieur de la pièce - il n'est pas question de voir - et qu'elle se démènera comme une souris dans un mur (quasi mus in medio parieti vorsabere). Le Totius Latinitatis Lexicon de Forcellini s.u. fenestra propose le sens de "armoire creusée dans un mur" pour ce passage. Le Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis de Du Gange donne des exemples de "fenestra" et de "fenestre" employés au sens de "ciborium seu armarioꝝum" (12). Dans le Dictionnaire de la Langue Française du seizième siècle d'Edmond Huguet je trouve encore un emploi de "fenestre" au sens de "case, casier, placard" (13).

Ces exemples permettent de comprendre, me semble-t-il, comment le glissement de sens s'est opéré naturellement de fenêtre à niche murale.

Il est probable que θυρίς et fenestra ont désigné, à l'origine, un trou ou une ouverture quelconque (14) et que le mot s'est spécialisé ensuite dans le sens d'ouverture pour donner l'air et la lumière. Les rapports de fouilles effectuées en Egypte montrent que, très souvent, les niches et les fenêtres sont construites les unes au-dessus des autres, la fenêtre prolongeant en quelque sorte la niche. Et l'on avait recours aux mêmes techniques pour encadrer les fenêtres et les niches de poutres de bois, pour étayer le mur rendu plus fragile aux endroits de ces ouvertures (15). Ainsi la niche apparaissait comme une sorte de fenêtre aveugle. Il arrivait souvent que des fenêtres fussent obstruées et transformées en niches (16). L'emploi d'un même mot pour désigner les deux réalités constituait évidemment un inconvénient : peut-être faut-il voir dans la création de φωτοθυρίς ou φωταθυρίς que l'on trouve dans quelques papyrus une tentative pour remédier à cette ambiguïté (17).

Pour conclure je m'arrêterai à deux sortes de remarques : la construction et l'usage des niches murales dans l'architecture monastique se rattachent à une tradition égyptienne ancienne. Il en va de même pour un élément du mobilier du moine, l'ἐμβρολιτον, le coussinet de papyrus qui sert à la fois de siège et d'appui-tête. Ce mot rare se trouve déjà dans les dépenses faites pour le bureau du comogrammate Petaus à la fin du IIe siècle de notre ère (18). Nous avons là pour les realia deux cas précis d'une continuité qui a été bien mise en évidence dans d'autres domaines (19).

Ensuite, du point de vue de la méthode, les emplois de θυρίς dans le grec d'Egypte me semblent être un bon exemple de la manière dont les diverses disciplines se complètent; sans le secours de l'archéologie et des textes chrétiens, il aurait été difficile de montrer que, outre son sens habituel de fenêtre, θυρίς pourrait avoir dans les papyrus celui de niche murale.

- (1) Cette étude a bénéficié des remarques de M. Jean Scherer qui m'ont été précieuses ; je l'en remercie sincèrement. Je donne ici l'essentiel de ma communication présentée à Oxford ; un article plus développé sur le même sujet sera publié dans le Journal of Juristic Papyrology.
- (2) Cette interprétation a déjà été proposée, à titre d'hypothèse, par E.G. Turner dans son livre Greek Papyri. An Introduction. Après avoir traduit p. 79 l'expression ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος du P. Ross. Georg. III. 1 par "from the window", il ajoute dans une note (15, p. 181) : "The term might, however, mean a niche. One wonders whether it might".
- (3) Voir M. Alliot, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Tell Edfou (1932), p.9.

- (4) Voir entre autres A.E.R. Boak and E.E. Peterson, Karanis, Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations during the seasons 1924 - 1928, pp. 18, 50, 60, 61.
- (5) Voir par exemple Kellia I, Kom 29 - Fouilles exécutées en 1964 et 1965 sous la direction de F. Daumas et A. Guillaumont, pp. 5 et 6, 21 et 22. Les auteurs indiquent que ces niches correspondent aux θυρίδια ou θυρίδες où les moines des Apophtegmata Patrum rangent leurs livres.
- (6) Autres Apophtegmata montrant des θυρίδες remplies de livres: Migne, 416 C ; J. Cl. Guy, Recherches sur les Apophtegmata Patrum X 147 et 191. Je dois ces deux dernières références à M. Guy que je remercie de son concours.
- (7) Texte cité dans le rapport de F. Daumas et A. Guillaumont, Kellia I, p. 22.
- (8) Voir Karanis ..., pp. 16, 18, 49, 60, 62.
- (9) Ibid., p. 29.
- (10) On peut rapprocher l'emploi de τὰ [στ]θήρια qui sont des outils en fer dans une lettre du IIIe siècle ap. J.C., P. Oxy. VII. 1066, 20.
- (11) A. Ernout, dans la Collection des Universités de France traduit : "On t'enfermera solidement dans l'embrasure de la fenêtre d'où tu pourras entendre à loisir...". Citons aussi la traduction de P. Grimal dans la Collection La Pléiade : "On t'enfermera solidement derrière les volets de la fenêtre, à un endroit où tu pourras entendre..."
- (12) La "fenêtre" est l'endroit où "le Corps du Christ" est placé.
- (13) "Il les mena à son logis et fist ouvrir une petite fenêtre, où d'une bourse qui dedans estoit tira cent escuz". Le Loyal Serviteur, Histoire de Bayart, ch. 7.
- (14) Voir A. Mau, P.W. VI² 2180.
- (15) Karanis..., p. 29.
- (16) Ibid. ..., pp. 49, 52.
- (17) C.P.R. I. 103,6 - P. Lond. III. 1179 p. 144, 62 - P. Mil. Vogliano II. 99,12.

(18) P. Petaus 33,7.

(19) Voir par exemple J. Vergote, "L'Egypte berceau du monachisme chrétien", Chronique d'Egypte 34 (1942), pp. 329 - 345.

A NOTE ON THE ROMAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE BUREAUCRACY

S. Frederic Johanson

It is my intention to use an unusual point of Greek grammar to illustrate how the Roman government looked upon the Oriental provinces, taking Egypt as my example. I realize, however, that the evidence is ambiguous, that most of my argument is speculative, and that other explanations are equally possible, two of which I will mention in the final portion of this study.¹

The point of grammar is the use of the dative absolute. The use of this construction is so limited and its origin so transparent that nearly all handbooks of Greek grammar ignore it, just as we pass over it in reading with scarcely a nod. With the exception of five possible occurrences in Appian claimed by Hering², (a point of potential importance), its confirmed use is restricted to dating monuments and documents by consular pairs.³ As Jannaris explained it in his Historical Greek Grammar,⁴ (the only modern authority, incidentally, who discusses the construction in a grammatical handbook), "...the place of the genitive absolute is occasionally taken by the dative absolute. . . this however is nothing but a mistranslation into the Greek of the Latin ablative absolute. . . cf. Josephus, AJ XIV, 10, 13, ΔΕΥΚΙΩ ΔΕΥΤΛΩ ΓΑΙΩ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΩ ΥΠΑΤΟΙΣ . . ." Whether in fact this was andis to be interpreted as a temporal dative or a dative of association without a preposition is difficult to say. But the use and distribution of the construction clearly indicates, I believe, that it was developed and used by those whose native language was other than Latin.

The construction is found nearly everywhere the Greek language was used. There seems to be no pattern for its distribution either chronologically or geographically, except for Egypt, but perhaps such a pattern will emerge when I complete my survey of the epigraphical material. If one considers only the Monumentum Ancyranum, which is the document, I should imagine, where most scholars first meet a dative absolute, one would be tempted to attribute its development to Augustus, who, we are told by Suetonius (D. A. 89), was no Greek scholar, and who could have set a precedent for its usage. However, the first epigraphic use that I have located is the SC de Panamareis, dated 39 B.C., a good half century before the Res Gestae. And the SC de Panamareis, or at least the surviving copy set up in Panamara, may have been a local translation, made by a local official whose competence in Latin did not extend to an understanding of the abbreviation co. s. c. ■ consulibus as an ablative absolute, which was to be properly translated with a genitive absolute using the verb ὑπατεύω or with the standard formula ἐπὶ plus the genitive of the magistracy, in this case ἐπὶ ὑπάτων. This lack of understanding of a basic Latin formula is repeated throughout the Greek-speaking world

on epigraphic monuments, both public and private, with no apparent pattern. As an example of this lack of pattern, I cite IGRR III, 146 and 147, two letters of Antoninus Pius to the σύνοδος ἑυστική τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶν ἱερωνεικῶν στεφανειτῶν, inscribed in Rome in 143 and 154 respectively. The first is dated with a dative absolute while the second uses the formula ἐπὶ ὑπάτων. A similar lack of uniformity can be seen within a single monument in IGRR III, 1012, a monument which a boxer set up in Laodicea of Syria in the year 221, ὑπάτων Οὐεττίου Γράτου καὶ Οὐιτελλίου Σελεύκου, but which shows, only six lines above, the record of a victory at Nemea in 214 Μεσσάλα καὶ Σαβεῖνον ὑπάτους.

Further examples of this lack of uniformity can be seen in ten private documents drawn up in various places from 124 to 263 A.D. but preserved in either Egypt or the Judaeian desert. Of these, three from Judaea (SB 10288, 1, 2; SB 10304) and one each from Naples (P. Lond. 1178) and Bostra (P. Oxy. 3054) are dated ἐπὶ ὑπάτων; one from Judaea (SB 10305) uses the genitive absolute; one from Myra in Lycia (BGU 913) uses ὑπατείας plus the genitive; and three, from Side (BGU 887), Cyzicus (P. Cairo. 10433), and Pompeiopolis (SB 7563) use the dative absolute.

This review of the epigraphical monuments and the non-Egyptian papyri leads to the conclusion that there was no set formula in the Greek East or even in Rome for translating the dating by consuls into Greek. This is in accord with what else we know of Roman administration of the East during the Principate: the Romans had a laissez-faire attitude toward local administration, letting each community go its own way, which included local standards for translation, as long as it kept the peace.

In Egypt, however, we find a great deal of uniformity in this practice. This phenomenon of consular dating of Greek documents to my knowledge has rarely been investigated. Stein, writing in 1915, did state some general principles about consular dating and double dating (that is by consuls and by regnal years), but he did not turn his attention to the use of the dative itself.⁵ Of the eighteen examples of consular dating from the second and third centuries, before the introduction of the formula ὑπατείας plus the genitive in the time of Diocletian⁶, fifteen use the dative absolute, two are grammatically garbled, and one uses the formula ὑπατείας plus the genitive. The following complete list notes the date of the document, the type, the possible place of origin, and an occasional marginal note. All contain a dative absolute unless otherwise noted.

1. BGU 140, 119 A.D., a private or semi-official translation of a letter of Hadrian to the prefect, dated by the regnal year followed by Πουπλίου Αἰλίου τὸ γ καὶ Ρουστικῶ ὑπάτους. The consuls names have perhaps been attracted into the genitive by being placed next to the name of the emperor.

- 2-4. SB 9228, BGU 1032, and BGU 7362, epikriseis of veterans dated 154, 173, and 177 A.D. respectively, the first of which was drawn up at Syene.
5. BGU 326, 187 A.D., the will of C. Longinus Castor drawn up in Karanis and called a translation.
6. P. Oxy. 3019, 200 A.D., a decision of Severus drawn up in Alexandria.
7. P. Giss. 40, 212 A.D., the Constitutio Antoniniana, probably from Alexandria.
8. P. Flor. 382, 216 A.D., an exemption from a liturgy, with a mistake in the identity of one of the consuls, drawn up in Alexandria.
9. P. Oxy. 35, 223 A.D., a proclamation from Alexandria.
10. P. Oxy. 2348, 224 A.D., the opening of a will, drawn up in Oxyrhynchus, stated to be a translation and a copy.
11. P. Teb. 285, 239 A.D., a copy of a rescript originally from Alexandria.
12. P. Oxy. 1466, 245 A.D., a bilingual request for a guardian drawn up in Oxyrhynchus.
13. SB 9298, 249 A.D., an agnitio bonorum possessionis stated to be a translation and a copy, probably drawn up in Oxyrhynchus.
14. P. Oxy. 1201, 258 A.D., a bilingual petition drawn up in Oxyrhynchus.
16. BGU 1074, 275 A.D., a rescript dated by the regnal year but containing a rescript of 43 dated by a dative absolute.
17. P. Ham. 39 #63, 173 A.D., a military payroll, dated ὑπατίας plus the genitive
and finally a fragmentary document marked by linguistic confusion
18. SB 7366c, 200 A.D., an apophysis of Severus, dated Φέλωνι καὶ Κλάρῳ ὑπατείας.

Leaving aside number 17, which uses a standard grammatical form and so does not belong in the same category as the others, we are left with a group of seventeen documents of an official nature. Of these, six (7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 18) are public documents issued by the government bureaux in Alexandria for general distribution. Five others (6, 8, 12, 13, 15) are private documents either to or from the government.

Three (2, 3, 4) are epikriseis of veterans. And One (1) is perhaps an official or semi-official copy of a public document. As for their places of origin and thus where the dates were entered, ten and perhaps eleven came from the government bureaux in Alexandria. The two wills and the agnitio were drawn up in local government offices, as were the three epikriseis, though the dates on at least two epikriseis were taken from the veterans' diplomata, which accounts for the use of the suffecti on SB 9228, the only appearance of suffecti in Egypt.

Now that at least sixteen and perhaps all seventeen documents have been firmly placed in government offices, the problem is to explain the constant use in those offices of the dative absolute when dating documents by consular pairs. The solution is perhaps best approached through some general statements. First, according to the principles set forth by Stein, the working language of all government offices from the strategos on down was Greek, and all documents going to those offices or through those offices to individuals or to higher ranks of officialdom would be drawn up or translated into Greek. This is especially true for the six documents (7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 18) that presumably were originally drafted in Rome, and which naturally would include the consuls as part of the date. Second, Egypt was never subjected to Roman penetration on the scale of the other provinces. The number of Latin speaking officials was small and soldiers speaking Latin as their first language may have been in a minority as early as the time of Augustus. But though their numbers may have been few and their Latinity erratic, there was probably a great deal of pride⁷ (as well as privilege) involved in being a civis Romanus, exemplified by the feeling "though in Egypt, do like the Romans." And the Romans dated by consular pairs. This urge to do things the Roman way, whether by inclination or by statute, is especially noticeable in P. Oxy, 2348, as Roberts points out in his commentary.

To these two general statements must be added the absolute fact that Egypt was burdened with an all-pervasive bureaucracy. Now it is a general law of bureaucracies that whether the government machinery runs smoothly or creaks and clanks, it runs by the book, which requires that all taus and chis must be crossed, the proper number of copies be signed by the right officials, and the proper forms be used. One example of correct bureaucratic procedure is Wilcken, Chrest. #52, a letter from an acting strategos to his basilikos grammateus, informing him of some government decision. This particular case is an example not only of bureaucratic paper shuffling down the chain of command, but also of an individual in one capacity officially communicating to himself in another capacity.

It is this spirit that accounts for the uniformity in the use of the dative absolute in Egypt. As for its origins, we may suppose that the first scribe, archivist, or whatever, who translated a Latin document with a consular date into Greek was not fluent enough in Latin to recognize an ablative absolute for what it was, and instead used the

classically improper or substandard dative absolute which was so common elsewhere in the Greek world. The action of this scribe then became enshrined or fossilized in some sort of scribe's handbook under the heading of "form to be used for translating consulibus." From Alexandria, it probably passed to the countryside by way of an official style manual (which must have existed, though no trace has ever been found), or by way of memoranda listing the official number of the year and changes in imperial nomenclature (again a necessary hypothesis, though the closest parallel is P. Oxy. 2105, a prefect's edict giving the date and other particulars for the upcoming triennial Festival of Livia.)⁸

That the use of the dative absolute may have become standardized in Alexandria in some such way may have some confirmation in the historian Appian. As is well known, Appian began and ended his government career in the bureaux of Alexandria reaching the rank of procurator Augusti. As mentioned earlier, Hering claimed that at five different places, Appian replaced a standard genitive absolute with a substandard dative absolute. That may be true, and if so, it could be the result of Appian's career as an Alexandrine bureaucrat. It is more likely that they are examples of Appian's normal lack of classical, Hellenistic, or any other sort of elegance.

If this reconstruction is valid, it is in accord with the standard modern view of the Roman attitude towards the bureaucracy. It must be remembered that the extensive government machinery that the Romans had adopted and adapted from the Ptolemies was, in theory, directly under the Prefect, a high ranking, direct appointee, answerable only to the emperor. One would expect, then, that the bureaucratic "book" would have been dictated in Rome, and that the dative absolute would never have become standard. Instead, in this instance, and perhaps in others, we find the "book" being drawn up within the bureaux in Alexandria, quite possibly by a low-ranking official. When he did so, he was within the broad bureaucratic guidelines necessitated by the transfer of power from the Ptolemies to the Caesars, so his innovation was allowed to stand. Since his grammatical infelicity made no impact on the tranquility of Egypt, only slightly affecting the paperwork of the province for at least one and perhaps as many as three centuries, the Roman ruling class paid no attention. It was a matter beneath their notice, and their contempt. It is another example of Rome's laissez-faire attitude toward the bureaucracy and the provinces.

It is possible that the solution suggested above is not correct, and that the Romans themselves were responsible for the introduction of the dative absolute.⁹ It is possible that the bureaucratic "book" was drawn up by Romans either in Alexandria or in what was to become the office of the ab epistulis Graecis in Rome. But it is difficult to explain why the Romans chose the substandard or aberrant dative absolute to translate the consular pair into Greek. If there was a Republican precedent for their decision, it is not preserved in the surviving evidence.¹⁰

Finally, it is possible that the formula was neither substandard nor aberrant. It may be that the Romans conceived of the formula as being "the year with the consuls being..." instead of being "the year when the consuls were..." However, the only evidence that would support this suggestion is the Greek documents discussed above, so this possibility must remain in abeyance.

1. An earlier version of this paper was read at the XIVth Congress of the A.I.P., July 30, 1974, at Oxford. I would like to thank all those colleagues who later discussed various points with me. Especial thanks are due to Dr. J. R. Rea of Oxford, Dr. J. D. Thomas of Durham, and Dr. W. J. Tait of Cambridge for their valuable comments and suggestions. However, I accept sole responsibility for all positions, erroneous and other, taken in this paper.
2. J. Hering, Lateinisches bei Appian, Diss. Leipzig, 1935, pp. 42-43.
3. I must thank Dr. J. D. Thomas for drawing my attention to a papyrus he published in BICS 19, 1972. Cf. his comments on line 11, pp. 105-106, 110-111. To his complete discussion, I would only add that David Magie heavily underscored the sentence from Viereck, Sermo Graecus, p. 62, quoted by Thomas, in his own copy of the text. However, he did not add further comment in his own Dissertation, De Romanorum juris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in Graecum sermanem conversis, Halle, 1904.
4. pp. 499-500, #2144 b.
5. A. Stein, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Ägyptens unter Römischer Herrschaft, pp. 90-91, 158-159, 161, 163
6. Yet cf. the early 4th century documents from Panopolis described by Dr. W. H. Willis at the Congress which are dated ἐπὶ ὑπάτων.
7. Which may have included officially sponsored racial discrimination cf. the contributions of Barns and Youtie to the Congress.
8. Unfortunately, the list of consuls communicated to the Congress by Dr. W. J. Tait is not such a memorandum.
9. Several colleagues at Oxford made this suggestion.
10. Cf. Sherk, Roman Documents from the Greek East, Baltimore, 1969, pp. 13-19.

The Provincial Administration of Egyptian Arcadia*)

James G. Keenan

The Egyptian province of Arcadia was established, at the earliest, in the year 386, its territory being roughly equivalent to that of the old Heptanomia. From the time of its creation to its reorganization along with the other provinces of the Egyptian diocese by Justinian, Arcadia was ruled by a civil governor, a praeses, directly subordinate to the praefectus Augustalis Aegypti. The Notitia Dignitatum testifies to this, as do other sub-literary sources and a reasonable number of fifth-century documentary papyri. As a result, Arcadia's administrative structure in the fifth century is sufficiently well documented as to leave no doubt about its general scheme. Problems arise later on, however, with Justinian's reform of Egypt's administration in 539, the details of which are set forth in his Edict XIII. As is well known, the text of the Edict is incomplete. The chapters dealing with the two provinces of Aegyptus, with Libya and the Thebaid have survived intact; but that which deals with Augustamnica is defective, and the chapter on Arcadia is entirely lost. Consequently, scholars have been unable to reach a definitive conclusion on the way in which Justinian restructured Arcadia's administration. Nonetheless, the documentary papyri have yielded some clues, however slight, and these have quite naturally been introduced in attempts to fill in the outlines of the missing chapter.

The first to make the attempt was Gelzer in his Leipzig dissertation of 1909, Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens. But Gelzer's conclusions were quickly and effectively controverted by Jean Maspero in his monograph of 1912, Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine. On his own part, Maspero, although admitting the possibility that Arcadia, inasmuch as it was not a frontier province, could well have remained solely under the jurisdiction of a civil governor after Edict XIII, favored instead the hypothesis that by Edict XIII's terms Arcadia was reorganized along the lines on which Libya had been reformed: that is, it was left territorially intact, not subdivided as were the Thebaid and Augustamnica; and it was subject to a duke with both military and overall civil powers, who had as his assistant a praeses with civil authority alone. In support of his thesis, Maspero adduced three arguments coupled with

a single, independent piece of evidence. The arguments, in his order of presentation, are as follows:

1) an argument based upon military competence. That is, praesides were purely civil officials without military competence; dukes were primarily military officers, only secondarily civil officials. There is abundant evidence for the presence of military units in Arcadia after Edict XIII. These must have had an overall military commander. He must have been a duke.

2) the presence of dukes of Arcadia in Egypt after the Arab conquest. These are evidenced both in the Ethiopic translation of the Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu, and in several documentary papyri. It is unlikely, Maspero argued, that Arcadia was reorganized as a duchy by the Arabs. More probably, it was instituted as such by the Byzantines.

3) the factor of analogy. That is, Arcadia was probably reorganized along one of two basic patterns evident in Edict XIII: it was either subdivided and placed under the general control of a dux, assisted in one or both subdivisions by a praeses; or it was left intact and governed by a dux with a single praeses as his assistant in civil matters. Since there is no evidence that Arcadia was in any way subdivided, it must have been reorganized according to the second pattern.

Finally, Maspero cited B.G.U. I 323, a document which will be mentioned again and discussed below, as probable evidence for a Byzantine duke of Arcadia.

The foregoing paragraph constitutes, I trust, a fair synopsis of Maspero's ideas and arguments on the question of Arcadia's government after the issuance of Edict XIII. His hypothesis was subsequently adopted as "very likely" by Germaine Rouillard, though she conceded that the evidence at hand could not support a definitive solution. What was needed, of course, as Maspero himself realized, was new, relevant papyrus evidence to resolve the point; but, contrary to what might have been expected, none has appeared. Consequently, Maspero's view has remained generally accepted down to the present day. Still, although no positive, direct evidence has been forthcoming, we have had the benefit since Maspero's day of a number of pieces of what may be called "indirect evidence." These, together with the continued silence of the papyri on the key issue -- an

incontestable reference to a duke of Arcadia in the century or so between Edict XIII's promulgation and the Arab occupation -- suggest that this might be an appropriate time to pause to reconsider and re-evaluate Maspero's hypothesis. To do this, a closer look must be taken at his arguments and, then, at the significance of B.G.U. 323.

First, the argument from military competence. This rests upon a denial of all military responsibility to a praeses; but this denial in turn appears to rest on an assumption that is too schematic. To cite one example, P.Oxy. XVI 1888 of A.D. 488 indicates that a praeses could have independent command over a military detachment. Whether this command was specially delegated, limited or temporary is not known, but the situation indicated by P.Oxy. 1888 need not have been extraordinary. For although it is agreed that a praeses was fundamentally a civil governor, not a military authority, this does not mean that he could not have soldiers under his orders to assist, for example, in tax-collecting or, when necessary, in enforcing justice or preserving general order. In fact, in Edict XIII itself, Justinian permits the praeses of Libya to appoint a suitable man to be his representative in Mareotis and Menelais. To help this representative in his assignment, twenty officials are to be detached from the officium of the praeses along with fifty soldiers from military units stationed in Libya proper. Accordingly, this section of Edict XIII establishes not only that a praeses could have a modest number of troops at his disposal -- so also could his legally designated representative.

Still other problems in connection with military competence, but more directly related to the province whose administration is being considered here, are raised by P.Oxy. XVI 1920 and 2046, both of the year 563 and both concerned with disbursements made to troops of the duke of the Thebaid who had come from there to cities of the province of Arcadia. Maspero and Rouillard had held that Edict XIII had made the provinces of Egypt separate, distinct and -- for military and administrative purposes -- virtually isolated units; but the accounts just mentioned, as discussed by the late Professor Rémondon in an important article in the first volume of Recherches de Papyrologie, suggest that the duke of the Thebaid, in time of crisis, if not generally, had military competence that extended beyond the boundaries of his own province into Arcadia. Indeed, in one of his

notorious poems, Dioscorus of Aphrodito had hailed Athanasius, duke of the Thebaid, in his battles against the desert nomads, as commander-in-chief of the Thebaid and Arcadia -- poetic hyperbole according to Maspero (P.Cairo Masp. I 67097 verso, note on line 18), but in Rémondon's view an accurate reflection of fact. And if the latter is right, then Maspero's argument from military competence loses its force.

As his second argument, Maspero had set forth the documentary and literary evidence for dukes of Arcadia in the Arab period as potential evidence for dukes of that province in the Byzantine period. As far as I have been able to determine, the evidence has not increased since the time of Maspero's book; but for two of his references, previously known from brief extract or from description, full editions are now available and their texts have been reproduced in the Sammelbuch. One of these, SB VIII 9749, is particularly crucial: it is dated between 25 January and 24 February of A.D. 642, and gives evidence for the existence of a duke of Arcadia -- under Arab administration but so early as to precede the Byzantine evacuation of Alexandria. Furthermore, the duke there mentioned, Philoxenus by name, is apparently the same as the "prefect" Philoxenus mentioned in the Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu. Likewise, B.G.U. III 750 gives indisputable testimony to the existence of a duke of Arcadia in the Arab period; but it is regrettably without date. On the other hand, neither P.Grenf. II 100 of 683 nor another reference given by Wessely in Wiener Studien 24 (1902), p. 127, cited by Maspero and now accessible as SB VI 9460 of 699, is relevant to the discussion, the former for the same reason that will be advanced shortly in connection with B.G.U. 323, the latter because the duke it mentions, Flavius Titus, was duke, not only of Arcadia, but of the Thebaid as well. In point of fact, the evidence for dukes of early Arab Egypt, collected and analyzed by Rémondon in his edition of the Greek papyri of Apollónos Anô, indicates that at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries Arcadia and the Thebaid were for administrative purposes more often than not united under the authority of a single duke. It is tempting but perhaps hazardous to cite another piece of evidence in this connection -- the puzzling allusion in a Coptic document of A.D. 646, discussed by Professor Schiller on a number of occasions including the tenth session of the Papyrologists' Congress, to "justice and law and the form of writing of the scribes of Thebais, particularly those of Arcadia." At

least two interpretations of the latter part of this phrase appear possible. One is that the word "Thebais" is here used in a broad geographical sense, not in a technical administrative sense. On the other hand, it may well be possible to adopt this allusion as evidence for the administrative unification of the Thebaid and Arcadia earlier than previously thought.

Thirdly, toward the end of his discussion, Maspero mentioned the factor of analogy, that the province of Arcadia ought to have been given "a government similar to that of its neighbors." This is a point that Maspero raised only briefly in support of his other arguments. In response, it can only be said that seen within the context of the old Egyptian diocese broken up by Justinian's reforms, the citation of analogy may seem relevant; nonetheless, viewed in the larger context of Justinian's dispositions throughout the Empire, its validity becomes subject to doubt. If anything, Justinian's reforms are marked, not by uniformity, but by its lack, presumably because they were meant to satisfy, as far as possible, local needs. Possibly, as a consequence of its own peculiar political geography, Arcadia was given an administrative structure different from, rather than similar to, those imposed on the other provinces of the Egyptian diocese.

I come at last to the one potential piece of evidence, already mentioned, for the existence of a duke of Arcadia in the Byzantine period: B.G.U. 323, a document assigned by Wilcken generally to that period, but likely in Maspero's view (with which I concur) to be sixth-century in date. Its provenance is Arsinoitôn polis, one of the cities of the province of Arcadia, and it mentions a duke. In Maspero's opinion, which I quote: "The mention of a duke in the city of Arsinoe can only refer to a duke of Arcadia." Nevertheless, we are robbed of absolute certitude, an indisputable indication of the duke's province, by a lacuna at the end of the second line; and despite Maspero the circumstantial indications to which he refers are not sufficient to prove that the duke in question was Arcadia's governor. It is enough to recall that in P.Oxy. I 130 Flavius Apion II of the famous Oxyrhynchus family is shown to have held the post of duke of the Thebaid.

In short, there is no positive, direct evidence for the existence of a duke of Arcadia in the century or so between Edict XIII and the Arab takeover. This is surprising, if

indeed a duke of Arcadia existed, partly because of the abundance of evidence from sixth- and early seventh-century Oxyrhynchus. Not only do we lack reference to a duke of Arcadia, but -- even more striking -- there are no references to a ducal officium. To this silence we may contrast the relatively frequent references to members of the officium of the praeses of Arcadia in the same time span. I am of course aware of the dangers inherent in arguments from silence and the difficulties of substantiating what is essentially a negative argument. In the present case, one clear reference to a duke of Arcadia in the period between Edict XIII and the Arab occupation or a reference to his officium would settle the issue once and for all. The crucial shred of evidence may even lie in a box of as yet unpublished papyri in the Ashmolean Museum nearby. Still, the long silence of our published papyrus-documents is odd, and it now becomes a question of how that silence is to be construed. Can it be attributed to the spottiness and incompleteness of our evidence? Or is the simplest explanation the right one? We do not hear of a duke of Arcadia because there was none. At present the strongest argument for the existence of Byzantine dukes of Arcadia is the evidence for Arab dukes of the same province, and because of its early date, the strongest and most important piece of evidence for these is SB VIII 9749. Still, even granting the existence of a duke of Arcadia at the beginning of Arab domination, it may well be that the Arab propensity for administrative reform has been underestimated. Or, Arcadia may have been set up as a duchy, not in the (for Egypt, at any rate) relatively peaceful Justinianean period, but in the more turbulent years of the early seventh century, in the reigns of Phocas or Heraclius, perhaps during or in response to the Persian invasion.

In conclusion, there exists an outside possibility that Maspero's suggestion that Arcadia may have remained solely under the jurisdiction of a praeses by the terms of Edict XIII, raised only to be rejected in favor of a more complex, yet more logical and systematic solution, should be given further consideration. Doubts still prevail; but, for the time being at least, this alternative perhaps deserves to be weighed equally with what has been for more than sixty years the predominating view.

*) A longer version of this paper, with full documentation, is scheduled to appear in the Special Papyrological Number of Museum Philologum Londiniense. 11 (1977) p. 193-202.

ETHOS IN MENANDER

In antiquity the plays of Menander served as the model, in fact the very byword for ethos, a term in the context of drama often translated as "characterization".¹ The purpose of this paper is to re-examine this critical concept in literary theory and as manifested in the now extant plays themselves. It will be argued that the quality of ethos in drama, a prevalent critical notion in Menander's time, was not characterization in our static sense of in-depth portraiture, but that it entailed the variation of personal expression according to the action. Menander was a banal and cliché-prone author and his conscious attempts to achieve the prized quality of ethos are palpable in his dialogue, or, at least, so I will argue. Also, I hope to show that recognition of this artistic goal in the plays can be helpful in dealing with the distribution of parts.

Much of the confusion concerning the exact meaning of dramatic ethos stems from the literature of the Greco-Roman age, in which literary and rhetorical theory are closely intertwined. In the Hellenic age, however, this was not the case. The doctrine of dramatic ethos, in the Classical Greek era, was not directly linked with the art of rhetoric, but with that of painting, a curious association, which left its traces until the end of the Roman Empire. The first indication of such a doctrine is found in Xenophon's Memorabilia, in the account of Socrates' visit to the workshop of the painter Parrhasius (3,10,1-5), but its significance is here obscured by the author's casual and colloquial approach. The controversy begins with Aristotle's Poetics. Among the criteria of drama here discussed by the philosopher, the most important compositional features are mythos and ethos (6,8). The term mythos is unambiguous: it means the plot or story line.

Does ethos really mean "character portrayal" as held by most interpreters? The simile adduced by Aristotle shows that this cannot be the case. The author likens mythos to the outline of a painting and ethos to its colors (6,20); in a statement which has mystified generations of art historians, he proclaims that the painter Polygnotus was the ethographos par excellence, whereas the art of Zeuxis was lacking in ethos (6,15). Yet, for the art of Polygnotus, this much is

1. See most recently J.J. Pollitt, Art and Experience in Classical Greece, London-New York 1972, 43; 50.

clear: it was essentially outline drawing, akin to the vase painting of his time, and it cannot, therefore, have given scope to detailed character portrayal. The issue is further confounded by Pliny the Elder, who reports that Zeuxis had created a Penelope "in which he seemed to have painted the very soul of good character" (in qua pinxisse mores videtur, 35,63). How can that be squared with Aristotle's comment that the art of Zeuxis had no ethos?

Post-Aristotelian literary theory also belies the assumption that ethos means characterization. Here we find the term routinely coupled with pathos (emotion); both are frequently used in the plural as well. Words meaning "characterization" and "emotion" prima facie make an unlikely pair, as they designate incompatible notions. When, however, we find ethos defined as a weaker form of pathos, and in intelligent authors, such as Quintilian (6,2,9) and Ps.-Longinus (9,15; cf. 29,2) at that, it becomes clear that a more intricate conception lay behind the Greek term.

The solution to this puzzle becomes apparent when we consider that Greek critical thought about the arts emanated from dynamic notions of movement, action or enactment, unlike our own which focuses on permanent values captured by art. (I shall elsewhere argue this fundamental difference in direction between Greek aesthetic thought and ours with regards to the concept of mimesis.) In Aristotle's Poetics the term ethos means characterization in the dramatic and dynamic sense; ethos is the manifestation of individuality in a specific action. It provides a fleeting glimpse of the personality rather than a portrait; hence the frequent usage of the term in the plural. Hence, also, Pliny's explicit translation of ethe in painting as sensus, literally sensations or experiences (35,98).

In this sense it is quite conceivable for the technically primitive art of Polygnotus to have excelled in ethos. In fact, archaeology has recently uncovered a sample of painting from Polygnotus' time which constitutes a unique demonstration of just this form of ethos. It is that on the North wall of the Tomb of the Diver at Paestum; the pottery found in the tomb allows us to date it closely at 480 B.C. Like its counterpart on the opposite wall, it shows five carousers reclining on couches; but this scene has dramatic implications thus far unique in ancient painting. Of the three figures in the group on the left, two are engaged in a kottabos game. The figure on the far left, in the characteristic kottabos pose, with his index in the handle of the cup and his hand curved upwards, has a look of anxious expectation. The second figure is shown in the act of swinging his cup: he is intently taking aim. The

2. Mario Napoli, La Tomba del Tuffatore: La scoperta della grande pittura greca, Bari 1970, Plate 1.

third kottabos player is awaiting his turn, cup in hand. He is not, however, looking at his fellow players, but gazing over his left shoulder at the pair on the right with a look of startled indignation: he has just discovered that he is missing out on the better entertainment. For the pair on the right are lovers. The left figure of the two is a beardless ephebe, with sensuous red lips and a meretricious smile. He is adroitly beguiling his companion with music and caresses at the same time. The bearded adult on the right is responding to the seduction with an expression of rapacious lust and drawing the ephebe's head towards him.

In fact, what I have just done for the banquet scene from Paestum is exactly what Quintilian said the paintings of Polygnotus were good for, namely intellegere, a Latin technical term meaning "to interpret" or rather "to tell the story of". Quintilian (12,10,3) reports that in his opinion the paintings of Polygnotus were too archaic to merit much attention, but that they were much in vogue in his time ambitu intelligendi, "out of the snobbery of interpretation".

Clearly the paintings of Polygnotus, like those of his Paestum contemporary, had stories to tell. The dramatic flair of the painters transferred to the medium of comedy of manners, would produce, not colorful characterization of ordinary persons as we find in the mimes of Herondas, but comic characters constantly changing, albeit within the framework of their inherent traits and habits, under the impact of the dramatic developments. This, I maintain, was an effect Menander aimed at and, within the limits of his modest talent, achieved.

As an obiter dictum I might perhaps point out that the preoccupation with intricate reactions to events probably gave birth to a cliché prevalent in the fine arts and literature of the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman ages, namely that of conflicting emotions. Among extant monuments, the outstanding exponent of this notion is the figure of Medea, found in Pompeii in several variants probably going back to one Hellenistic prototype. Medea is represented, as in the tragedies by Euripides and Seneca, as torn between her love for her children and her lust for vengeance. In the most representative of the paintings,⁴ the expression in her eyes is kindly and melancholy, but her mouth is drawn into a hard-bitten smirk. This painted Medea constitutes, as it were, a pictorial μέν-δέ-clause.

3. Intellegere is used in this sense in Cic. Fin. 2121; Petr. 52,3; Pliny, N.H. 34,77 and 35,98. Cf. Keuls, The Water Carriers in Hades: A Study of Catharsis through Toil in Classical Antiquity, Amsterdam 1974, 113-114.

4. A. Rumpf, Malerei und Zeichnung der klassischen Antike, Munich 1953 (HAW VI,4) Plate 58 nr. 2.

An anatomically even less likely application of the motif of conflicting emotions is proffered by Achilles Tatius. Describing a painting of Prometheus shackled to his rock, Achilles observes that one eye of the hero gazes in terror at the eagle carping at his liver, while the other eye joyfully welcomes the rescuer Heracles, who is just putting the arrow to his bow (3,8). No crosseyed Prometheus has thus far been unearthed.

Interestingly, a scholion to Sophocles, Ajax 340, uses the term ethos in reference to just such a case of conflicting impulses. The scholiast here notes, correctly if superfluously, that Tekmessa "is ambivalent in ethos, on the one hand she laments, on the other she calls the child".

The dynamic aspects of the ethos notion have, in the main, been overlooked by scholars. Rutherford, for instance, in his admirable discussion of the term as it occurs in the scholia on drama, does observe that it often applies to manifestly transient moods.⁵ He also notes the expression ἐν ἠθέει, a frequent comment added as a kind of stage direction by the scholiasts; this idiom can fit so many forms of expression that it can only be rendered by a vague phrase such as "with dramatic expression". Yet ultimately Rutherford renders the term ethos by a static formula: "...the complex product of sex, station in life, acquired habits, state of mind, national temperament." (142) A nineteenth-century attempt to express the kinetic associations of the term is rarely recalled. In 1850 Otto Jahn defined the term, as it is used in Aristotle's Poetics, as follows: "Es bezeichnet den Zustand der Seele insofern er die Grundlage der Handlung ist."⁶

If Jahn and myself are correct in our assessment of the nature of ethos as rooted primarily in dramatic action, how does this quality of drama manifest itself in the comedy of Menander and how are we re-evaluate a frequently cited scholion on Sophocles (Ajax 354) to the effect that "in the changes of speakers one should determine and distribute the parts on the basis of ethos"? Characterization in the static sense, i.e. portrayal of personality by means of characteristic speech patterns and vocabulary, has been observed in the plays by several scholars, notably by F.H. Sandbach, whose commentary shows great sensitivity towards the color of the dialogue. So, as this scholar has brought out, the slave Onesimos in the Epitrepontes shows a predilection for abstract nouns in -mos; the silly and pretentious old man Niceratos in the Samia tends

5. William G. Rutherford, A Chapter in the History of Annotation (Scholia Aristophanica Vol. III) London 1905, 140.

6. Berichte Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 2 (1850) 108.

to speak in clipped and rambling phrases.⁷ What has not been observed is the circumstance that a quick change of tone or mood, often within a line, is manifested often enough and obviously enough to establish it as an aspect of drama cultivated, probably consciously, by Menander.

The fragments of the Sicyonius, for instance, include an eye witness report of a quarrel. Since the reporter of the exchange cites literal wording, we have, as it were, a second-hand distribution problem. The soldier, Stratophanes, has just prevailed on the crowd to turn the damsel in distress over to the priestess of Eleusis for safety as the effeminate Moschion comes on. The latter, as is the wont of the Moschions of New Comedy, is bent on seducing the virgin. If we interpret the following lines with Mette⁸, Stratophanes in one breath exhorts the crowd to kill Moschion, hurls an obscene insult (rare in Menander) at his rival, apologizes to the crowd for his coarse language and comforts the girl. It is, of course, possible to assign the lines differently, but Mette's reading makes good sense (the ethos-factor is, in fact, an argument in its favor).

A ruminating soliloquy containing a sharp change of mood represents another manifestation of ethos. From Terence's Menander adaptations we might cite the long speech of Getas in the Adelphoe (299-319). This character is a devoted slave, who supported his widowed mistress and her daughter. When it appears that the daughter has been seduced and abandoned, Getas laments their misery, but then, in a sudden switch of expression, he turns to a sadistic phantasy of revenge, including eye-gouging and the extermination of the culprit's entire family. An even more varied study in moods is indicated by Arrian's paraphrase of a scene from the Misoumenos (Fr. 2 Sandbach), in which the jilted lover Thrasonides vacillates between despair and hope.

Among the characters whose ethe are especially developed, Davus, the slave of Kleostratos in the Aspis, is noteworthy. The slave goes through an almost operatic gamut of feelings, as his fortunes fall and rise in the course of the action.

These shimmering mood changes are characteristic of the drama of Menander. One might cite an occasional parallel from classical tragedy, especially Sophocles whom Aristotle probably had in mind when discussing the ethos-notion in the Poetics.

7. Entretiens Hardt 16 (1970) 134; 120-121.

8. Lustrum 10 (1965) 177 (comments on lines 264-267).

Nowhere, however, do we find this dramatic effect cultivated as frequently and as schoolishly as in Menander. How can the understanding of this aspect of Menander's technique be applied to the edition of the texts? The principal net result of the recognition of the ethos-factor is to counsel restraint in going against the authority of the manuscript in assigning speeches. There are several instances in the Menander plays where many or most of the editors insert a change of speaker, partially because of a pronounced switch in tone, whereas, with the ethos-factor in mind, the new mood might be an argument in favor of continuous speech by the same character.

In all of these the speaker identification naturally involves other factors as well. In each case the total argument would be too complex to present here. I might, however, exempli gratia, cite from the Dyscolos one possible example of ethos which could affect the assignment of lines. At the beginning of Act III the scribe surely nodded, because, of entering characters, only the grouch Cnemo is identified by name and omissions of essential dicola are frequent. Cnemo emerges from his house and stands aside. On comes a party of sacrificers headed for the shrine of Pan. I side with Sandbach and the greater number of editors, who hold that the group is led by the mother of the young lover, even though her name is not listed in the cast of characters. The personality of the mother has been established as that of a resolute matron, who spends her time organizing extracurricular rituals, independently of her easygoing husband (259-263; 406-408). She is a pietistic equivalent of the modern clubwoman. If she is, indeed, present in this scene, it must be she who orders the preparations for the sacrifice. Then follows an uncouth exhortation to an unidentified person: "What are you gaping at, you dope-head?" (ἐμβρόντητε σὺ 440), the latter an insult of Aristophanic coarseness (cf. Ecc1. 793). No change of speaker is indicated, but most editors give the words to a helper in the preparations, be he Getas the slave or Sico the cook. The principal reason for this departure from the manuscript is presumably the incompatibility of the wording with the dignity of the matron. The re-assignment of the line, however, causes problems. Whom is Getas or Sico addressing? An isolated address of a persona muta is dramatically unsatisfying. If we presume that the helper has just discovered Cnemo and is addressing him, we vitiate the humor of the next scene, in which he tries to borrow a pot from Cnemo and experiences his grumpy character. If, on the other hand, with Bingen and Blake, we give the rude words to the mother, assuming that she addresses the sluggish servant, we have a typical instance of ethos.

In no passage of which I am aware can recognition of the ethos-factor by itself lead to a reliable identification of a speaker. However, among the many considerations which are brought to bear on the vexed and essential problem of distribution of parts in New Comedy, it does merit a place.

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NEW METHODS IN THE STUDY
OF GREEK POPYRI FROM HERCULANEUM

BY
KNUT KLEVE

In connection with my work on Papyrus Herculensis 26, which contains the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus' work "On the Gods", Book I, I am developing two methods of restoring lacunae, the one presupposing the use of a microscope, the other a computer.

Through a microscope it is possible to detect remnants of letters invisible to the eye. Then it is quite obviously necessary to learn the hand of the papyrus in enlarged size so that it will be possible to identify the traces and so perhaps fill in the lacunae.

A useful way of learning the letters is to draw them. Drawing through a microscope can usually be done by attaching a drawing aid to it, i.e. a device which projects the picture of the pencil with which one is drawing onto the image which one sees under the microscope. Such a device cannot, however, be used to draw the letters in the papyri from Herculaneum. The contrast between the carbonized papyrus and the white drawing paper is too sharp, and it is impossible to see both the letters and the pencil at the same time.

The letters can, however, be drawn when one first has photographs taken of them through the microscope. It is necessary to use colour film in order to have the letters sufficiently distinguished from other marks on the papyrus. By using the drawing device together with attached lamps which illuminate the film from below it is then possible to trace the letters on drawing paper. To do this drawing is laborious and time consuming, and it demands a high degree of accuracy to put the various photographs, which only cover small fractions of the text, together to whole lines and the lines together to columns.

On the basis of these drawings of the enlarged handwriting I make new drawings. Using a graph paper I trace every letter together with the two letters which follow it. The use of graph paper helps among other things to make a quick estimation of the dimensions of the letters. I have confined myself to three letters because

to my knowledge a connected writing never extends over more than three letters in the hand of the papyrus. The drawings are arranged in a file so that I have easy access to every detail of the material.

The other method, which presupposes the use of a computer, will come to its full value when I have established what really is preserved of the papyrus text by means of the microscope method and otherwise. It also presupposes a rather abundant material of machine readable texts, and by now all the known texts of Epicurus and his followers are stored in the computer.

The computer can write its own Greek texts and make concordances. Within the year 1974 the machine will have ready a full concordance to Philodemus. On the basis of this I shall make a new Lexicon Philodemeum which I hope can replace the old lexicon by Voocys. In the following years I plan concordances and lexica also to Epicurus and to other Epicureans, for example Diogenes of Oenoanda and Demetrius Lakon.

Concordances and lexica I regard, however, only as "spin-off". Computer programmes for my further work are in preparation, and I expect the results to be of great value for the restoration of lacunae. From the stock of texts the machine can, whenever desired, conjure up any detail of the material and present it to us in the arrangement we choose. We are always, then, able to get the information we desire. If we, for instance, have identified the letters before and the letters after a lacuna, and also have established approximately how many letters there have been in the lacuna, the computer will be able to give us a list of those words and combinations of words in the text material which contain exactly those letters at the required distance from each other. The computer can also give us information about terms occurring together, frequencies of words etc. One day the computer may also be able to identify partly preserved letters (presumably by recognizing points covered by the various letters). Within minutes and hours the computer can give us information which we would have used months and years to get at with traditional methods or perhaps had not been able to get at at all. With such information at hand it will perhaps be possible to find the right reading for the lacunae.

I want to stress that I do not in the least expect that some time the scholars shall be replaced by machines. On the contrary, as far as I can see, what now

happens is that the scholar gets access to new aids and has been freed from many unnecessary burdens. He has, one could say, got a sort of magic lexicon in addition to the traditional lexica, indices, reverse word-lists etc. In this new magic lexicon there are endless possibilities of sorting and arranging text material in a minimum of time. But no other than the scholar is able to use that lexicon. Wilhelm Crönert once emphasized that there are three cardinal virtues for the papyrologist: Sehkraft, Sprachgefühl, Sachkunde. These virtues are today as relevant as ever they were, and can never be replaced by any machine.

Summaries:

John Shelton:

"Grammar and Death"

Transcripts and discussion of two short papyri: an early fragment of grammar, relevant to the textual history of Dionysius Thrax; and an astrological prediction of disturbances in Egypt. P. Stanford Inv. G93e.

... ai la d'Edmon au grec - v. 12-13 - Papyrus p. 10-11

J. Van Haelst:

"Origine et provenance des manuscrits palimpsestes (gréco-syriaques) de Deir Suriani"

Dans le problème difficile de l'origine (lieu de copie) et de la provenance (lieu de trouvaille) des manuscrits, il importe d'avoir constamment à l'esprit que les manuscrits comme les pierres peuvent voyager. Un exemple intéressant est celui fourni par certains manuscrits palimpsestes (gréco-syriaques) de Deir Suriani, dans le désert de Nitrie, qui, selon toutes les apparences, ont été copiés en Mésopotamie, puis transportés en Egypte, où ils ont été trouvés au siècle dernier. S'il en est ainsi, il conviendrait de présenter autrement l'hypothèse proposée par G. Cavallo (Recherche sulla maiuscola biblica, p.84-105) sur les quatre types d'écriture au Ve-VIe siècle.

Note al Papiro Bodmer XX

di

Giuliana Lanata

N.B. Una versione più ampia e documentata di questa comunicazione, inclusiva di due paragrafi su Il "dossier" di Filea e I temi della polemica anticristiana nel P. Bodm. XX sarà pubblicata nel "Numero Speciale Papirologico" del Museum Philologum Londiniense.

I. 8-9. Il primo editore leggeva e integrava $\lambda\epsilon[\gamma\iota\omega]|\nu\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, ma l'ultima lettera chiaramente leggibile prima della lacuna della r. 8 è indubbiamente α , e le tracce della successiva fanno pensare all'asta di un ν o, meglio, di un κ : C.H. Roberts (J. Th. S. 1967, 437-8) ha proposto $\acute{\alpha}\gamma[\nu\omega]|\nu\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, il collega Mario Naldini dell'Istituto Papirologico Vitelli mi suggerisce $\acute{\alpha}\kappa[\tau\iota\omega]|\nu\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, molto soddisfacente dal punto di vista paleografico. Ma né per gli annonarii, né per gli actionarii le fonti attestano una funzione militare o paramilitare come quella richiesta qui. Il problema resta, per me, aperto.

I. 12-13. Martin suggeriva, exempli gratia, $\text{περιελ}|\theta\acute{\omega}[\nu \text{ καὶ πολλὰ παθ}]ϕ\acute{\nu}$. A mio avviso alla r. 13 prima di ν si legge ρ ; inoltre, $\text{περιελ}\theta\acute{\omega}[\nu]$ richiede un complemento, che potrebbe essere un nome geografico, o ad esempio una espressione come $\text{πολ}|\lambda\eta\nu \delta\delta]ϕ\acute{\nu}$, conforme allo stile patetico del passo ($\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu\omicron\varsigma \tau\rho[\tau\epsilon \text{ ποσὶν ἐν δε}]σμο\omicron\varsigma$, 11-12).

V. 7-8. αἱ[τημῶν]των Martin: αἱ[σθημῶν]των Musurillo. Entrambe le integrazioni - soprattutto la seconda - mi sembrano nettamente esorbitanti. E' vero che, come nota anche Turner (JEA 1966, 199), alla fine delle righe le lettere talvolta sono più fitte e minute; ma questo non sembra il caso nel ductus di quanto resta di V. 7. A rigore, non si può escludere neanche un'abbreviazione (cfr. VI. 1: φιλῶσ : VII. 9: ομ^υ[υ]). A mio avviso però un'altra soluzione si può cercare nel significato che λογικός assume nel greco neotestamentario, in passi come I Petr. 2, 2: ὡς ἀριγένητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε. Λογικός, "spirituale", è inoltre molto frequente in testi patristici in cui connota il culto cristiano in contrapposizione alle offerte materiali dei pagani: la θυσία ἀναίμοα e λογική per eccellenza è l'eucarestia (Eus. dem.ev. I, 10; laud.Const. 16). Mi chiedo pertanto se non si possa integrare λογικῶν αἱ[μῶν]των, che implicherebbe una contrapposizione fra l'offerta puramente "spirituale" del sangue, e quella reale del sangue delle vittime pagane.

V. 8 s. Che si tratti qui della ricompensa che attende nell'al di là chi ha agito rettamente è certo anche per la corrispondenza con le rr. 16-17. Alla r. 9 si legge, credo, αγομ (come aveva visto Martin), e non αγογ (Schwartz, Musurillo). Si può forse postulare ἔργα | δικαιοσύνης] ἡγόμενα], "le opere di giustizia, se vengono rispettate, osservate" (con un significato di ἀγειν vicino a quello attestato, in questa stessa pagina, alla r. 4: τὰς θρησκείας ἄγοντες) come soggetto del

verbo la cui finale è conservata alla r. 11, e che, con Martin, penso sia da integrare in [ἀπολή]φεται (ἀμοιβαί).

VI. 8-9. αμαρτωλ[è da collegare con una forma non di ἁμαρτωλία (Martin), che sembra estraneo al greco cristiano, ma di ἁμαρτωλός, che vi ricorre frequentemente in unione con κόλασις: cfr. ad es. Clem. ep. 10, PG 2, 45 B: ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀπορρήτου κολάσεως τεύξονται τὸν αἰῶνα; Ath. virg. 17, p. 52, 18 von Goltz = PG 28, 272 D: τὰς βασάνους τὰς αἰώνιους, ἐν αἷς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ κρίνονται. La restituzione del passo resta comunque problematica.

VI. 13. Alla fine della r., anziché θ[ύσον] (Martin), va integrato, credo, θ[ύων], che instaura un parallelismo inverso con le rr. 14-16 (12-13: φεῖσαι ... θ[ύων]; 14-16: φ[ε]ιδόμενος (Martin; an φ[ε]ισόμενος?)... οὐ θύω. Per un'analogica costruzione participiale cfr. XV. 16 - XVI. 1: φεῖσόμενος ... θύσον.

IX. 3-4. Dopo ῥα[πίζεται], Martin proponeva κα[ὶ] κολαφίζε[ται], basandosi probabilmente su Matth. XXVI, 67: τότε ... ἐκολάφισαν αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ ἔρραπισαν. A conferma si può ricordare che ῥάπισμα e κολάφισμα (in quest'ordine) si trovano frequentemente uniti nelle descrizioni della passione: cfr. Isid. Fel. Epist. I, 54, PG 78, 217 A: ἐμπύσματα, ῥαπίσματα, κολαφίσματα, σταυρόν; Jo. Mon. Artem. pass. 38, PG 96, 1286 D: κἀκεῖνος (Cristo) κατεξέδθη ταῖς μύστιξι, κἀκεῖνου τὸ πρόσωπον ῥαπίσματα κατεδέξατο καὶ κολαφίσματα.

X. 12. κατὰ significa qui, come ha chiarito Turner (J.Th.S. 1966, 405), "all'altezza di", "on a level with". A conferma si può addurre un passo di Giuliano, significativo in quanto proviene da una disputa dello stesso tipo, in cui è instaurato un paragone fra la civiltà pagana e quella ebraica: εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ φάμεν, ἕνα μοι κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον δεῖξατε στρατηγόν, ἕνα κατὰ Καίσαρα παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις (Jul. contra Christ. 218 B, p. 202 Neumann).

X. 15. All'inizio della r. alcune tracce sono riconciliabili con .αλ. La vers.lat. ha c u n c t i s prudentior; Martin ha proposto una libera ricostruzione come Πλάτωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φιλοσόφους πάντας.

XI. 13-16. L'inserzione del fr. 1,4 nella parte centrale di queste rr., operata da Schwartz (Ch.E. 1965, 439), ha permesso di riguadagnare alcune lettere che assicurano, per questa sezione, una puntuale corrispondenza fra il testo greco e la versione latina. Su questa base Schwartz ha proposto una brillante ricostruzione che, credo, può essere ancora migliorata in alcuni punti. Per chiarezza, riproduce innanzitutto la versione latina e il testo ricostruito da Schwartz:

- a.) dicit enim sacra et divina scriptura: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum qui te fecit. Culcianus dixit: Quem Deum? Phileas respondit
- b) τα λέγει γὰρ ἡ [θεῖα] γραφή
αγ[απήσεις] τὸν θ[εὸν σου]

15 κ[..... κο]υλκι[ανο]ς εἰ(πεν)
τινα θεον] Φιλ|εας επαρας

Schwartz desume le iniziali delle rr. 14-15 dal fr. 3, 1, dove però si leggono soltanto α[] e κ[] : troppo poco per tentare un inserimento. Inoltre, le integrazioni proposte per le rr. 13 e 16 restano un po' al di sotto del numero di lettere richiesto, soprattutto se si tiene conto del fatto che alla r. 16, come altrove, doveva figurare θν e non θεον . Propongo quindi di modificare il testo di Schwartz così:

[τα· λέγει γὰρ ἡ [ἱερὰ θ(εο)σ] γραφή·
[ἀγαπήσεις] τὸν θ[(εδ)ν σου τὸν σε]
15 [ποιήσαντα. Κο]υλκι[ανδ]ς εἰ(πεν)·
[Τίνα οὖν θ(εδ)ν;] Φιλ|εας ἐπαρας

In questo modo si restituiscono delle righe di 21/22 lettere, come in genere le altre, e si ottiene una migliore corrispondenza con la versione latina. Si noti in particolare:

r. 13: [ἱερὰ θεοσ] γραφή (variante rispetto a ἱερὰ καὶ θεῖα γραφή di VII. 10) è più vicino a sacra et divina scriptura di quanto non lo sia [θεῖα] γραφή di Martin-Schwartz;

rr. 14-15: [τὸν σε | ποιήσαντα] : qui te fecit vers. lat.; cfr. alla r. 18 della stessa pagina, τὸν π[οι]ήσα[ν] | τ[α] : qui te fecit vers. lat.;

r. 16: [τίνα οὖν θεδν;] : quem deum vers. lat. Οὖν completa il numero di lettere richieste, e trova corrispondenza formale in τίνων οὖν θ[ε] [υσιδν; V. 5; οὐδέ | [π]οτε οὖν θ[ε] μογ[ας;] VII. 13.

XI. 18. All'inizio, anziché [εἶ(πεν)] , troppo breve, Martin integra [ἀπεκρίθη] , che Musurillo giudica troppo lungo (ma si vedano le abbreviazioni ἀπεκρ/ ο ἀπεκρεῖ : R.A.Coles, Reports of Proceedings in Papyri, Bruxelles 1966, p. 45, n. 3). Suggestirei [ἔφησεν] , sulla base di XVI. 2-3: οἱ δικολόγοι ... ἔφησαν . La variazione rispetto ai soliti εἶπεν ... εἶπεν si spiega perché in entrambi i passi il redattore si scosta dallo stile protocollare delle altre sezioni, come è provato qui anche dall'inserzione ἐπὶ φρασ | [τὰς χε]ῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, 16-17.

XII. 4 (Sul fac-simile, il frammento con ωτον è fuori posto e va spostato una r. più in alto). Martin proponeva ἀ[μετῶν] ωτον ; penso si debba integrare ἀ[ναλλοί]ωτον , epiteto costantemente associato ad ἀόρατος e ad ἄτρεπτος per connotare l'essenza del dio dei cristiani, a partire dal secondo secolo. (Cfr. Lampe, Patristic Greek Lexicon, alle rispettive voci). L'integrazione sembra un po' troppo breve: si può forse pensare a un errore dello scriba, ad esempio una dittografia (cfr. XV. 10: ἰψύτους ; X. 10: διεελε[εγ]ετο).

Genova, luglio 1974.

Father Peter Levi, S.J.

The prose style of the Magical Papyri

Written language easily loses the special rhythms of popular speech, and even in a modern spoken language, the old characteristic patterns of rhythm and structure survive in some kinds of social context and not in others. Old popular language clings to old popular activities. Magic is an excellent example. Out of the language of curses, the curses on a grave-stone¹ or the curses recited annually by a priest against pirates,² or the curses on a jockey and his horse,³ out of the characteristic structure and rhythm of that language came the developed language of all-inclusive law.⁴ The language of ritual instructions in the Greek magical papyri is also to be found in Theophrastus de plantis.⁵ That is not very surprising but it is of considerable interest that these patterns of rhythm and structure nowhere occur in medical or surgical treatises. One might have thought the language of magic would have influenced that of the emerging sciences. But the one non-magical human activity I can discover where the pattern of ritual instructions does occur is that of cooking.⁶

Of course most papyri are Egyptian, and the language of the magical papyri is as mixed as the magic. There are prayers with solemn Neoplatonic overtones,⁷ and one splendid Jewish document, the Eighth Book of Moses, which deserves a high rank on the same shelf as the Book of Revelations. But the typical structure of ritual language in the papyri is clear enough, and earlier examples of it exist. Sentences consist of imperative verbs strung together in apposition, and a certain number of participles. "Take a hawk's head and as the sun rises greet it shaking the head and performing this sacred prayer offering unground incense and sprinkling rose-water; offer it in a clay burner..."⁸ The good results of prayers or sacrifices, and also the omens that imply such a good result, are introduced by 'and', and expressed in the simple future. Do so-and-so, doing so-and-so, do this, do that, "and this shall be your sign... a hawk shall appear on the right";⁹ or, "and you shall be charming and attractive and a wonder to those who behold you".¹⁰

Of course the formula 'Do so-and-so ... and so-and-so shall occur' is like the 'If you do so ... then so and so ...' formula of the Gortyn law-code and of many penalty clauses in Attic decrees, but it is not the same. The usage of 'and' is of great interest. It is not unlike a certain elliptic usage of 'and' in folk-songs, both in modern Greek and in English.¹¹ But the important difference between the two types of structure, 'Do this ... and ...' and 'If ... then ...' is that the first is much more flexible, it admits of an indefinite number of instructions, either participles or imperatives; when the whole ritual instruction has been given, the result is tacked on like the tail of a pantomime horse. But 'if' sentences are more logical, they admit of fewer conditions. That indeed is a likely reason why the older legal language of the Gortyn code and the Book of Deuteronomy, a long series of 'if' sentences with amendments in the form of secondary 'if' sentences, was replaced by the more flexible, comprehensive syntax to be found in the magical language of curses. A curse, and magical language in general, has to stop every earth, and cover every possibility. 'Let whoever prevents the bringing in of grain to the land of Teia by any device or means, by sea or by land ...'¹² This is

the language of a curse on the point of becoming law. The structures of curses and of ritual instructions are flexible and very ancient. The way in which the language of curses became also that of decrees, alliances, the constitutions and finally the laws of cities has something to do with the tribal and communal origins of democracy; it is outside the scope of this paper.

The language of a spell, a magical curse, an incantation or a theurgy is thought to have an automatic result, much like the kind of result prophesied in ritual instructions. A prayer is not quite magical, a ceremony is not quite a magic ritual, but the structure of their language even where nothing is thought to result automatically from it continues to show traces of magic. There is not a distinction between periods of time, between a magical age and a non-magical age, only between levels of behaviour, and between social levels, in the same age. Many different levels are represented in the magical papyri. Vocabulary, literacy and intelligence show a wide spectrum. But literary power, the immediate force of languages which moves us today when we read it, is not confined to any one part of the spectrum, though it seems commoner in the more traditional and simply articulate formulae. Marcus Aurelius was right to pick on that oddly moving prayer for rain:¹³ and perhaps right to comment, if one ought to pray at all, one should do it with this freedom and simplicity. There is something of the same directness about the formula from a magical text quoted by Gow to throw light on the authenticity of ritual language in Theokritos.¹⁴ I ought to say I owe my own interest in the magical papyri and many years of happy musings to Gow's commentary on the second Idyll. At the last lines he quotes an ἀπόλυσις, the peaceful dismissal of the spirit after he has performed his service. Go, go, Master, to your own heavens, to your own kingdoms, to your own course. The repeated χῶρει, χῶρει is not for literary effect, it is repeated in order to make sure something happens. The triple variation of heavens, kingdoms and course are not a rhetorical elegance, but typically of magic they are an attempt to define very clearly by means of alternatives, like giving the many names of a god or the many places where he lives: the rhetoric of prayers and magic has a practical basis. There is a similar formula in the strange singing at the sanctuary of Diktynna in Crete, at the death of Apollonios of Tyana.¹⁵ Στεῖχε γὰρ, στεῖχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στεῖχε. One might compare also the formula of urgency at the end of a late magical text discussed by Wunsch,¹⁶ "that they may not win tomorrow in the circus". ἦδη, ἦδη. ταχύ, ταχύ.

The urgent repetition of imperatives is not bounded by magic; it occurs in such a traditional formula as the semi-religious ὕε, κύε,¹⁷ but Aristophanes shows it is a normal device of popular speech.¹⁸ The imperatives in ritual instructions addressed to the performer of the ritual are not an urgent set of variations but a long set of precise commands. Repetitive variation is more purely magical, it is all meant to make one thing happen. "I bind you to the tail of the serpent and the mouth of the crocodile, and by the horns of the ram and the venom of the asp and the hairs of the cat and the membrum virile of the god that you be not able to copulate with any other man, nor be etc., nor do etc., nor etc."¹⁹ If such a formula is to be regarded as practical, it must call into play every relevant influence and cover every relevant eventuality. This rhetoric is genuinely prerhetorical, even though

it may also be the bone of great poetry, particularly the dramatic poetry of cumulative abuse, the splendid poetry of oaths and curses, and the invocation of gods. In comic poetry, which exists by paradox of rhythm and diction, the same kind of formula can be stood on its head to produce something absurd.²⁰ If a formula is well enough known, like that of Sappho's hymn to Aphrodite, it can be played on to produce something both light and serious, something subtly touching, a kind of descant of the unexpected.²¹ What we have in the magical papyri, and in the defixiones, is the crude material of language against which these great works define themselves. Whatever may be said of the rise of magic at a given period, the rhythmic and syntactic structures of these formulae are clearly ancient. Even the inarticulate smacking of the lips or clucking, the sighing and hissing and the groaning of magical rituals are older than the writers of the papyri.²² That frightening and inexplicable noise πόπαξ of Aischylos must have had in its day a well-known context in the language.²³

Egyptian and Jewish elements are certainly predominant in the magical papyri. "The seal that Solomon put on the tongue of Jeremiah and he spoke" is clearly not Greek,²⁴ but the usage of 'and' is surely derived from that of all ritual instructions. It seems possible to stratify the material we have; the most elaborate and most complicated magical texts and many bizarre features are agreed to belong to the second century A.D. or later, and there has been a tendency to characterize early material as "brief, exact and pure".²⁵ But at least the basic linguistic structures seem to be laid down by the fourth century, and some of them much earlier: for instance the forms of prayers and curses, which must be older than the Teian curses and the constitution of Chios. The decree of Perikles that was like a drinking-song is probably another example,²⁶ and the closing scene of the Eumenides turns a traditional curse into a blessing.²⁷ The double and triple repetition of words in a context of religious ritual is common enough in classical Greek - a convincing number of examples were collected by Eduard Norden in his commentary on the sixth book of the Aeneid²⁸ - and there is a similar phenomenon of phrases like ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν καθάρᾳ, and χάρει παθῶν τὸ πάθημα, which occur in an Orphic context and seem to have a similar basis in the practical need for effective ritual.²⁹ What is reiterated is something important for a practical purpose. These habits occur also in the magical papyri, but they are not necessarily Jewish or Gnostic; nor even is a phrase like πᾶσαν ὄραν καὶ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν καὶ πᾶσαν νύκτα: it has a long history in Greek, it was noticed by Plato as a stylistic habit, and it goes back to presocratic philosophy.³⁰ Some light shone on the antiquity of the themes of Greek magic and often of its linguistic structures in the publication of Une Imprécation Funéraire à Néocésarée by Paul Moraux fifteen years ago. He was able to take the traditional wording of public curses in Attica back to the early sixth century B.C. and to find the same wording in private use in the second century A.D. But Moraux showed that the wording of his Asia Minor inscription was so close to an inscription of Herodes Atticus that it must be an educated imitation. That is clearly not the same as the popular tradition of magical formulae. At the same time, literature can enter popular tradition in many ways and at many points. Professional magicians, from the moment we can distinguish magic as a secret and automatically effective ritual, are inevitably charlatans; like all charlatans they need to impress, and it is obviously true of the writers of the papyri that ils prennent leur bien où ils le trouvent. Even the predominance of oriental and Jewish magic

may be as much a metropolitan as a Jewish taste. Even Longinus³¹ thought the Greek version of the Jewish scriptures a striking example of sublimity of speech. Nor was it only magicians who were desperate to impress: there is surely something phoney and falsely sublime about that famous and solemn document, the Rider of the Rhetra.³²

A certain amount can be learnt from papyri that are written in two languages, even though the Greek and the demotic Egyptian texts are not translations of each other.³³ The syntax of ritual instructions in Egyptian seems to be more flexible. "You write on a laurel-leaf... you light a lamp... you invoke the laurel... Do not look at the lamp. When you are about to retire to rest you put the laurel under your head and you pray to Harthout; then he answers you in a dream..." The "when... then..." of this papyrus is like the usual Greek "and", which in fact occurs in Greek in the same papyrus. The Greek also contains alternative instructions in the form "but if you want so-and-so do so-and-so", which is like the form of legal amendment in specific circumstances used in the Gortyn code and the book of Deuteronomy: the traditional language of decrees. It may also be of interest that if the Greek spells are read with a stress accent they seem to have a regular though rather uninteresting clausal structure, more impressive as one would expect in the invocations than it is in the instructions. They favour the repetition of cheaply impressive phrases like ἵνα με φιλή εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. Perhaps there is always something cheap, and always something moving, about love charms. But whatever one feels about the spells themselves, and personally I often find myself moved by them, as one might be by an old popular record, they certainly cast some light on that love poetry of the Hellenistic age and of the Romans which we canonize as classical.

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Oxford.

1. Paul Moraux, *Une Imprécation Funéraire à Néocésarée*, Paris 1959; cf. I.G. II² 13188-13208, and R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (1942).
2. The Teian 'dirae', Dittenberger⁴, 37 and 38.
3. S.E.G. 7, 213; cf. R. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, Bonn 1912, p.13. For other private curses cf. Dittenberger⁴ 1174-1181.
4. Drakon's law against homicide (Dittenberger⁴, 111) is in the older form, but the sixth century constitution of Chios (Tod n.1) is already cast in the comprehensive language of modern legislation. For the closeness of an oath to a law cf. Dittenberger⁴ 526, and for the connection of magic ritual with the promulgation of a law cf. S.E.G. 9,3, the constitution of Cyrene, on which cf. also *Historia* 10, 1961, p.139 and J.H.S. 80, 1960, p.94.
5. For typical ritual instructions cf. Athenaeus 9, 78 (410a-b), for Theophrastus *de plantis*, 9.8, 4 et seq., on the mandrake in particular.

6. Apicius uses the present indicative or the subjunctive, but always with the second person singular. The style of Mrs Beeton is nearer to that of magic rituals. The formal instructions in Cato, *de re rustica*, are rather varied; this may reflect a diversity of sources, but it may also be deliberate. His ritual instructions (132 and 134) keep close to the traditional pattern, but it seems the opening phrases of these instructions (e.g. 141) are outside the form. For the strictest form of instructions, compare also 142-4.
7. Of course Neoplatonism is an important part of the mixture called Gnosticism. There are phrases like προπάτωρ ... αἰώναις αἰωνακτινοκράτωρ ... (P.M.G. 1, 197f.) and τὸν ἐν τῷ κενῷ πνεύματι δεινὸν ἄορατον θεόν. There are also in the same texts what appear to be Jewish phrases: ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε Κύριε, κλυθί μου, ὁ ἅγιος θεός, ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαύομενος, ὡς αἱ δόξαι παρεστήκασιν διηνηκῶς (P.M.G. 1, 197f.). The last passage I have quoted comes just before the first two.
8. Berlin 5026; 1.60f., cf. S. Eitren, *Zu den Berliner Zauberpapyri*, 1923 (Kristiania), p.7.
9. Ibid.
10. P.M.G. 12, 397.
11. In a Euboean version of the death of Digenis, Ποῦ 'σου ἐσύ, βρὲ Διγενή, καὶ θέλεις νὰ πεθάνεις; (*Laographia* 1, p.224). Compare 'An it sall come to pass' ... 'An thee sall marry' ... among the connectives in the last two verses of *The Great Silkie of Sule Skerry* (Child, 113).
12. See note 2 above.
13. Ἰσον, ὕσον, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν πεδίων. Marc. Aurel. Antonin., 5, 7. E. Norden in his *Antike Kunstprosa* (vol. 1, pp.45-6) gives examples of similar rhythms in ritual language.
14. Theok. Id. 2, 163-6, on pp.62-3 of the commentary (A.S.F. Gow, *Theocritus*, 1952). The phrase quoted is P.G.M. 4, 1061.
15. Philostr., *Vita Ap. Ty.*, 8.30, p.172.
16. R. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln* (1912) p.13, n.3, 31-33. E. Norden has discussed ritual and magical repetitions with a wealth of examples in his commentary on the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, on line 46.
17. Recorded in an Attic inscription of early imperial date, B.C.H. 20, p.79, as *σε κτε υπερχυε*. The formula is Eleusinian and the inscription (on a relief of Men with Pan and the Nymphs) is from the Dipylon.
18. Vesp. 393, ἐλέησον καὶ σῶσον, Vesp. 409-10 (four imperatives) and so on, and for the same imperative four times repeated cf. Vesp. 979.
19. V. Martin, *Une Tablette magique de la Bibliothèque de Genève* (Genava 6, p.56).
20. Euripides, *Cyclops* 262f.
21. It has long been known that Sappho's poem is close to the real form of prayers, and the analogies are in every modern commentary. But it seems lately to have escaped notice that what Aphrodite says (v.20) about Sappho being wronged has close parallel in an inscription from Knidos of a prayer ending ἀδίκημαι γάρ, δέσποινα Δάματερ. (Dittenberger⁴ 1179).
22. Recently discussed by J.M. Hull, *Hellenistic magic and the synoptic tradition*, 1974, pp.83-4.
23. *Eumenides* 143.
24. P.G.M. 4.3039.
25. E.g. J.M. Hull, *op. cit.*, p.26.

26. Against the Megarians (Aristophanes Ach. 532-4).
27. Such curses are discussed by Paul Moraux in *Une Imprécation Funéraire à Néocésarée* (1959).
28. On line 46.
29. A. Olivieri, *Lamellae aureae Orphicae* (1915) e.g. p.11 and p.16.
30. E.R. Dodds in his commentary on the *Gorgias* (p.192) suggests that the emphatic repetitions put into the mouth of Polos are what Plato meant by διπλασιολογία, with which Polos is characterized in the *Phaidros* (267b-c). In pre-socratic philosophy cf. Philolaos fr.11, Anaxagoras fr.4 and fr.12. These solemn repetitions seem to adhere to particularly sublime subject-matter, for example everlasting time, or the nature of the soul.
31. περί ὕψους, 9, 9.
32. Discussed by L.H. Jeffery in *Historia* 1961, p.146. The phrase ὦραξ ἐξ ὦραξ is particularly strange. (cf. Hammond in *J.H.S.* 1950, p.43 n.8.)
33. E.g. Bell, Nock and Thompson, *Magical texts from a bilingual papyrus in the British Museum, P.B.A. 17*. The papyrus is B.M.Pap. 10588, fixed by the Greek hand to the third century A.D.

Leslie S.B. MacCoull

Thanks to the kindness of Mr Herman Liebert, former Librarian of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale, and of his successor, Professor Louis Martz, I have been entrusted with studying and publishing the Coptic papyri in the Beinecke collection. For the literary and biblical pieces I am fortunate to have the collaboration of Professor Paulinus Bellet of Catholic University; and I am indebted also to the work of the late Professor Theodore Petersen, who prepared most of the H.P. Kraus catalogue of what became the 1964 acquisition of papyri (and whose *Nachlass* of scholarly papers I have inherited). The collection comprises over two hundred inventory numbers, excluding one forgery and a few clay seals. Earlier acquisitions were made in 1928 and 1945, and a few scattered items were given in the 1930's; while the largest amount of Coptic material came to New Haven in 1964-1965-1966 in three lots. This paper will simply present a few highlights of the collection, while a catalogue with commentaries is in process of being made.

First, the biblical and literary pieces. P. Yale Inv. 1779 is a roll of unusual format (25.5 x 65.5 cm), containing Psalms 77 and 78, and giving them the Hebrew-style (not the Septuagint-style) numbering. The text ends half-way down the verso of the roll. There are a few variants: Ps 77:8-9 are omitted; occasionally Coptic words are found where Budge's psalter text gives Greek words; and there are irregularities in replacing the supralinear stroke with € . Unfortunately several fragments of the roll have been mounted in the wrong order, so the continuity of text is confused. P. 1782 contains on the verso the text of Joshua 7:1-2, the only other papyrus portion of Joshua except for the Chester Beatty/Bodmer codex. Its text agrees rather with the Thompson, or later, version; the name 'Joshua' [IHCOYC] is written out in full, not as a *nomen sacrum*, and given the patronymic 'son of Naue'. The fragment itself measures only 11.3 x 4.8 cm; and, reconstituting the text of the five lines, one arrives at a figure of 51 letters per line, about 0.7 cm per letter = 35.7 cm per line, or a page (or sheet) of some 40+ cm in width. However, the script is not at all a 'book-hand' in type, and the recto is still largely illegible: one cannot as yet determine from what sort of roll, codex, or other format the piece of text may have come. The Joshua text may simply have been a biblical quotation copied on to the back of something completely unrelated. P. 1788 may be from an apocryphal Life of Our Lady: the fragments come from a bifolio of a codex, with two columns on each leaf, which must originally have measured ca. 56.5 cm wide, i.e., with each leaf over 28 cm wide. The Virgin is represented in the text as saying, 'I bless you, O son, offspring of all ages; ... behold, they came together to me and I was in their midst like an olive tree whose fruit returns to it.' PP. 2095 and 2096 are parts of two leaves of a codex with a narrative about the Forerunner, John the Baptist, in which God is addressed as 'O Lord of all, O demiurge of all the earth.' In both of these portions of codices the holes for sewing the leaves are clearly visible: two in the first case, one in the second.

The documentary papyri form an especially rich and interesting group. The single most important documentary piece is P. 1804, a thirty-two-leaf

bilingual account-book, averaging in dimensions 16x14 cm per leaf. Many of the leaves are badly discoloured and difficult to read, broken, or otherwise in poor condition, but the whole is a valuable piece of evidence and will help in the classification by format of documentary codices (cf. P. Lond. IV.1419, from Aphrodito, and BM 1075). The contents are quite assorted in nature; most leaves are inscribed in Coptic, but several are in Greek or have Greek subscriptions. All sorts of hands are represented, from expert rapid cursive to normal Coptic epistolary semiuncial to the wavering block-capital signatures of βραδέως γράφοντες. The entries take several forms, e.g.: pages with several items each beginning with the same month-name; copies of ἀσφάλεια, μικθωσικ, ὁμολογία or other types of contracts, sometimes with several different subscriptions or signatures; copies of receipts; lists of measures, of quantities of commodities, or of sums received; lists of names; and inventories. The usual assortment of religious offices and titles turns up, including a scribe (Γαλιγράφος, as often spelt in the MS. colophons published in van Lantschoot's collection). Folio 8 verso is a list of books, giving some eleven items, including a martyrdom and 'the book of the holy Gregory Thau[maturgus]' (l. 7): so far as I can find, no work of his is known to exist in Coptic, and one would assume that the book-list would deal with works in the native language of the monks. Folio 11 verso mentions the well-known monastery of Apa Sourous in the Aphrodito area (ll. 1-2), and a soldier from the Antaeopolite nome: we are on home ground here. Folio 29 recto, in a characteristically eighth-century hand (similar to that of the Kurrah ibn Sharik correspondence), is an 'account of the boats of the monastery' (unfortunately unspecified), covering the months of Tybi, Mecheir, Phamenoth, and Pharmuthi: to this we may compare the boat service run by the great monastery of the Metanoia well into the late period.

There are some seventy-five letters, dealing with the usual varieties of monastic and personal activities and goods: agriculture with its tools and products, livestock, handicrafts; with requests for commodities, services, and the like. At least one (P. 1835) gives its place of origin as Jeme ('I wrote at Jeme', says the writer, whose name is unfortunately lost), the well-known site near Thebes from which so many of our documents come. Similarly, much information can be gathered from the dozens of accounts and inventories: P. 1809 verso is an inventory of ecclesiastical items including a censer, three different kinds of knives, and an icon; while P. 1825 lists sheep and goats as 'sealed' (i.e. branded? We are not told if the ownership of the animals was monastic or lay). P. 1805, an account with letter appended, mentions the 'administrative (financial?) official' (Crum 561a) called the ψάλιον. (Line 10 mentions 'a follis from all the ψάλιον' --- indicating that more than one of these officials functioned at one time; but the nature of their job is still far from clear.) Often Arabic proper names turn up, written in Coptic characters (Σαβάρ, Μαιμοῦν, P. 1517; Ἀπὸ Μάζμητ, otherwise unknown, P. 1808). Among the specifically legal documents, P. 1862 is a labour contract (for βεκέ, wages), using the phraseology Ζῆπτοῦ ... Ζῆπμοῦ ('[either] on the mountain or in the water'), which is described by Satzinger in BKU III.350.11 (its only other occurrence) with n. 6 as 'nicht belegt': here is a parallel. For matters of lexicography, P. 1807 unfortunately does not further explain the significance of the word λῶρμεγ, given by Crum as 'meaning unknown' (150a). The occurrence of such officials as συνκέλλιος (σινκελε) and ἀκτουάριος (ακταρε) also deserves mention.

There are a couple of dozen magical papyri, which of course pose problems all their own. One at least is comparatively well known (P. 1792): it appears on a greeting-card one may buy at the Library, and gives the birth of Christ as occurring on 29th Choiak, as part of a charm against snake-bite complete with the famous SATOR AREPO... magic square. P. 1800 is a charm against periodic fever; while P. 1791 appears to be a love-charm reinforced by many oaths and invocations by and of 'the king of the demons ... the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit ... dominions, principalities and powers; δυνάμεις, cherubim and seraphim ... priests of the church ... Paradise and everyone in it'. P. 1781, a palimpsest, has a magical charm superimposed upon a portion of the text of Daniel not hitherto attested in Coptic. P. 2004.2, on the other hand, appears to be a perfectly legitimate medical recipe for a remedy for boils, using safflower oil.

Several dialects are represented in the Beinecke papyri: besides the common Sahidic, we find Fayumic or Fayumic influence in PP. 1805, 1892.4, 2021.1; Bohairic in 2022.1, 2123, 2124; Middle Egyptian in 2016 and 2022.6; and possibly Subachmimic elements in 1785 (an apocryphal text). Further work remains to be done on the dialectal peculiarities of PP. 2102 and 2103, letters apparently originating from the monastic community at Bawit.

There is still a great deal of work awaiting the editors of these documents, especially on the still unmounted fragments of more recent acquisition; more often than not a single inventory number includes from half a dozen to twenty or more loose fragments, and all of these must still be sorted out and, if possible, joined with one another on the basis of papyrus fabric, fibres, hands, texts, and so on. I am grateful for the patience of my colleagues during the remainder of the preparation of the catalogue of all of the Beinecke Coptic material.

RÉSULTATS D'UNE ENQUÊTE SUR LA SURVIVANCE ET L'ACCESSIBILITÉ
DES PYPYRUS LITTÉRAIRES RÉPERTORIÉS DANS PACK²

Paul MERTENS

En 1961, déjà, j'avais émis l'idée de créer un Centre de Documentation photographique des Papyrus littéraires¹, mais c'est depuis 1968 seulement qu'avec un crédit accordé par le Fonds national belge de la Recherche scientifique (F.N.R.S.), je me suis mis en peine de repérer et de retrouver tous les papyrus mentionnés dans la seconde édition du répertoire de R.A. Pack² pour essayer d'en obtenir des reproductions photographiques.

L'enquête à laquelle je me suis livré porte donc très exactement sur les papyrus littéraires grecs et latins recensés dans Pack, ce qui fait 3079 papyrus³. Il faut se dire toutefois que pour la localisation des originaux, cette masse de papyrus présente plus de 3079 problèmes, car certains d'entre eux ont été divisés — par les vendeurs ou par les hasards de la fouille — en deux, trois ou quatre parties, voire davantage, qui se sont souvent émiettées dans autant de collections ou, en tout cas, de numéros d'inventaire différents. De telle sorte que le chiffre est passé de 3079 à 3210.

Ces 3210 fragments se trouvent maintenant répartis entre un grand nombre d'institutions publiques et quelques bibliothèques privées : au total, dans 144 endroits, dont 38 aux États-Unis, 30 en Grande-Bretagne, 15 pour les deux Allemagnes, 11 pour l'Italie avec le Vatican, 8 en Égypte, 6 en France, 5 en Hollande, 4 en Suède comme en U.R.S.S., 3 au Canada, en Irlande, en Suisse, en Autriche et en Belgique, 2 au Danemark et en Australie, 1 en Pologne, en Norvège, en Grèce et en Nouvelle-Zélande.

L'ampleur de ces 144 collections est évidemment très variable.

A. 8 d'entre elles sont très importantes. Elles détiennent chacune de 140 à plus de 300 papyrus littéraires. Je les citerai par ordre croissant : la Bibliothèque Bodléienne, la John Rylands Library et le Musée du Caire (chaque fois entre 140 et 150 papyrus), la Bibliothèque Nationale de Vienne (+ 200 papyrus) et la collection florentine, qui en compte près de 300, si l'on veut bien jumeler l'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli et la Laurentienne; ce chiffre est dépassé dans les trois plus grandes collections : le British Museum, les Musées de Berlin et le fonds de l'Egypt Exploration Society. Total pour ces huit institutions : + 1850.

B. Un second groupe est constitué par 10 bibliothèques qui

conservent entre 50 et 68 papyrus littéraires : Aberdeen, la Sorbonne, l'Ashmolean Museum, Ann Arbor, Berkeley, l'Université d'Etat à Milan, Strasbourg, Heidelberg, Hambourg et Birmingham. Total pour les dix : \pm 600.

C. Une troisième série est formée de 11 unités, que je ne prendrai plus la peine d'énumérer et qui gardent chacune de 24 à 36 papyrus littéraires, soit, au total, \pm 320.

D. Enfin, 14 institutions en possèdent de 11 à 20, soit \pm 200.

Ce qui fait jusqu'ici 43 institutions pour 2970 fragments, ou 92.5% des papyrus.

E. 101 collections se partagent donc les quelque 240 fragments restants (7.5%).

A l'heure qu'il est, j'ai contacté la majeure partie de ces institutions. Parmi les toutes grandes, jusqu'à présent, j'ai laissé de côté, pour diverses raisons, la Bibliothèque Bodléienne et le Musée du Caire. Les six autres ont répondu de façon extrêmement encourageante et même, dans certains cas, pratiquement exhaustive. Ce qui n'a pas encore été obtenu est en passe de l'être⁴. Les institutions du second groupe ont toutes répondu favorablement et m'ont fourni tout ce qui pouvait être photographié; le déficit est de quelques unités seulement. Pour le reste, je n'ai pas encore touché tout le monde et le succès, dans cette zone, ne pouvait plus être total; toutefois, un échec n'y entraîne qu'une perte relativement mince. Le tableau qui suit fera clairement ressortir les résultats de la récolte.

	1 refus de photogr.	2 "perdus"	3 sans rép.	4 pas encore demandés	5 en cours	6 phot. éd.	7 micr.	8 photogr. ("prints")
3210	48	100	98	282	387	600	558	1137
%	1.5	3	3	9	12	18.5	17.5	35.5
	7.5%			21%		71.5%		

Ce qui se trouve à gauche (col. 1, 2, 3) est la section négative, tandis que dans la partie droite (col. 6, 7, 8) sont consignés les résultats positifs de l'enquête.

Commençons par la portion la moins favorable. On voit que 7.5% des papyrus m'ont été inaccessibles. Mais il y a plusieurs degrés possibles dans cette inaccessibilité. J'en ai distingué trois : on a renoncé à photographier 48 papyrus, 100 me semblent devoir être considérés momentanément comme perdus et, pour 98 autres, je n'ai pas obtenu de réponse. Au sein de ces trois catégories, il importe cependant de faire encore des distinctions, car tous les cas ne sont pas pareils.

1. Pour 7 des 48 papyrus de la première colonne, l'autorisation de photographier n'a pas été donnée parce qu'il s'agit d'inédits dont on désire réserver la primeur à celui ou à ceux qui en assureront la publication. Au fond, ces papyrus auraient pu ne pas figurer dans le répertoire de Pack : bien peu, sans doute, s'en seraient aperçus. 2 autres papyrus de la même collection ont été considérés comme trop fragiles pour être confiés au photographe; je n'ai pas à mettre en doute cet avis formulé par les responsables d'une collection relativement importante qui, par ailleurs, m'ont donné satisfaction sur tous les autres points. On n'a pas pu photographier l'*Illiade* Pierpont Morgan parce que le papyrus est de teinte trop sombre; le bibliothécaire m'a cependant promis de faire un effort pour tenter d'en tirer quelque chose. Un papyrus du Metropolitan Museum de New York n'a pu être reproduit à mon intention parce qu'il n'en existait pas de négatif et que cette institution ne possède pas le matériel photographique nécessaire.

Il reste 37 cas de refus. Ils peuvent être traités ensemble; il s'agit de papyrus non montés, non conservés sous verre : toute la collection de la Johns Hopkins University Library, de Baltimore (21 numéros), toute celle de Cornell University (10 fragments) et les 6 papyrus de Nessana conservés à la Bibliothèque Pierpont Morgan⁵.

En conclusion, pour cette série de 48 pièces, beaucoup d'espoirs sont encore permis, à condition d'avoir de la patience. Les 7 papyrus inédits seront publiés un jour et les 37 documents cités en dernier lieu finiront bien par être glissés entre deux verres.

2. Passons à la deuxième catégorie, où le dommage est le plus sensible. Ces 100 papyrus sont "perdus", à moins qu'ils ne soient seulement introuvables, indisponibles, ou non réparables (par moi, notamment).

Il faut se résigner, en effet : un certain nombre de papyrus (11) ont été matériellement détruits ou irrémédiablement endommagés, le plus souvent à cause de la guerre⁶. Plusieurs (32) sont — momentanément — introuvables⁷. Quelques-uns (3) ont disparu par suite d'un excès de confiance ou de générosité⁸.

Trois autres semblent réellement indisponibles⁹.

Je n'ai pas encore eu l'occasion de m'employer pleinement à repérer les 12 numéros figurant en note¹⁰. J'espère pouvoir un de ces jours localiser l'un ou l'autre d'entre eux, mais toute aide sera la bienvenue de ce côté. Il en va de même, a fortiori, pour les problèmes suivants :

- 15 papyrus dont les conservateurs supposés m'ont signalé la disparition ou l'absence dans leur collection¹¹;
- 11 papyrus appartenant, ou ayant appartenu, à d'anciennes collections privées¹²;
- les P. Lit. Goodspeed¹³ se trouvent-ils à Chicago ? Le cas échéant, dans quelle bibliothèque ?
- les P. Hawara revus par Milne en 1913¹⁴ sont-ils à Londres, à Dublin, ou ailleurs ?
- quand j'écris à la Hibbard Library de Chicago¹⁵, ma lettre me revient pour adresse insuffisante. Je serais heureux d'avoir ce renseignement purement matériel.

3. Au chapitre des "sans réponse", la colonne 3 révèle que je me suis heurté au silence en recherchant 98 papyrus. Une quinzaine de collections sont impliquées. Soucieux de ne froisser personne, je m'abstiendrai d'en donner le détail. Je dirai seulement que si deux universités mondialement connues avaient bien voulu donner signe de vie, 44 papyrus auraient changé de colonne. Par ailleurs, il faut signaler que dans deux ou trois cas, ma lettre n'a peut-être pas touché le but¹⁶.

4. Viennent ensuite les papyrus dont je n'ai pas encore eu le temps ou l'occasion de demander la photographie. Ces 282 numéros sont conservés essentiellement, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, à la Bibliothèque Bodléienne (+ 120) et au Musée du Caire (66). La centaine restante provient de collections mineures, le plus souvent égyptiennes.

5. En colonne 5, on trouve les papyrus dont la reproduction m'a été promise. Je n'oserais pas affirmer que toutes les promesses seront tenues ... Mais on peut raisonnablement attendre des colonnes 4 et 5 un déchet qui ne devrait pas excéder très fortement celui de tout le reste : sur les 21%, 2.5 iront sans doute du côté gauche et 18.5 du côté droit, ce qui donnera 10% d'une part et 90 de l'autre. Une telle répartition me paraît fort honorable.

6. Les quelque 600 photographies qui ont été éditées sont — théoriquement du moins — accessibles à tous et, pour ces

papyrus-là, je n'ai plus recherché les originaux afin de ne pas importuner inutilement les conservateurs. Je publierai peut-être à l'occasion une liste pure et simple des références de ces photographies.

7 et 8. Les deux colonnes de droite représentent la récolte effective : 558 microfilms et 1137 photographies ("prints"), soit 1695 reproductions sur 2610¹⁷. Je dois ce résultat positif à l'aide soutenue et efficace que m'a apportée mon assistant, Jean Straus, et, d'autre part, à l'amabilité et au dévouement d'une foule de collègues papyrologues, de bibliothécaires, de photographes, que j'ai remerciés personnellement à chaque occasion, et à qui je me plais encore à rendre hommage, anonymement mais publiquement, aujourd'hui.

1. Voir Actes du Xe Congrès international de Papyrologues, Varsovie-Cracovie, 3-9 septembre 1961, Wrocław-Varsovie-Cracovie, 1964, pp. 65-67, et Archives photographiques de papyrologie littéraire, dans Chron. d'Ég., XXXVI, 1961, pp. 428-430.

2. The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt, Ann Arbor, 1965.

3. 3026 + 63 provenant du Supplement (pp. 156-158) = 3089 numéros, dont 10 doivent être retirés parce qu'ils sont apparus comme inutiles ou faisant double emploi (1248, 1260, 1384, 1658, 1991, 2063, 2165, 2408, 2664 et 1320a).

4. Berlin : 107, Eg. Expl. Soc. : 85, Vienne : 55, British Museum : 50, une douzaine de P.S.I., 2 P. Rylands. Je me plais à exprimer ici ma vive gratitude à quelques personnes qui se sont dévouées de façon exceptionnelle pour me donner satisfaction : MM. Turner, Coles, Skeat et Pattie pour les collections anglaises, Müller et Poethke pour le Musée de Berlin, Manfredi pour les institutions florentines et Mademoiselle Loebenstein pour la Bibliothèque de Vienne.

5. Les P. Amherst, de la même collection, ont été photographiés pour moi.

6. Pack² 57, 435, 884, 1044, 1080, 1515, 1566, 1939, 2157, 2198, 3002.

7. Les voici, rassemblés par lieux de conservation : 1982; 1, 244, 1883, 2187, 1875a; 938, 954, 1036, 1118, 2054;

une partie de 2731; 140, 772, 959, 1596, 1619, 2495, 2955; 105 (référence erronée); 382, 1610, 1882, 2083, 2089; 2008; 2718, 2719, 2723, 2725; 1333 (faux ?); 2136.

8. 248, 2093, 2283.

9. 2480 (la bibliothèque est en train de déménager); 2995 et peut-être aussi 1030. Pack² 460, signalé au Congrès comme "missing for some time", a été redécouvert depuis par notre collègue I. Gallo là où il devait effectivement se trouver, c'est-à-dire à la Bibliothèque de l'Université St. Andrews, à Fife. Le papyrus était accolé au verso du P. Oxy. 1248 (= Pack² 1397).

10. Où sont 644 (au Caire ?), 755, 1120, 1586, 1841, 1877, 2470, 2615 (à Berlin ?), 2757, 2730, 2958, 2959 ?

11. Où sont 563 et 586 (plus au Metropolitan Museum); 1884, 1885 et 1886 (plus au Museum of the New York Historical Society); 679 et 2521 (plus à la Bibliothèque Pierpont Morgan); 1113 (plus à Stanford); 1614, 1683, 1860 (plus à Wellesley); 2318 (pas au Field Museum of Natural History); 1130, 2360 et 2546 (plus à Edimbourg) ?

12. 303 (coll. Whitehouse), 606 (coll. Winslow), 1189 et 2274 (coll. von Scherling), 2076 (coll. Wilcken), 1322 (coll. Wessely), 1988 (coll. Thompson), 2656 (coll. Clermont-Ganneau, ostracon), 2738 (coll. Blanckertz), 2740 (coll. Deissmann, ostracon, à Berlin ?), 2991 (coll. Arangio-Ruiz).

13. Pack² 624, 766, 818, 1256, 1620, 2401.

14. Archiv, 5, pp. 379-380 = Pack² 642, 1428, 1550, 2912, 2913, 2914.

15. Le papyrus en cause est Pack² 725.

16. Il s'agit ici des anciennes collections géorgiennes Zereteli (13 pap.) et Maximova (1 pap.), ainsi que de la Société Papyrologique d'Alexandrie (13 pap.).

17. 3210 (chiffre de départ) moins 600 (photographies éditées).

L'EPIKRISIS DEI GRECO-EGIZI

Orsolina Montevocchi

Un esame di tutti i documenti relativi all'epikrisis dei Greco-Egizi, dei quali sto preparando una riedizione, mi ha suggerito alcune considerazioni che qui presento, tenendo conto di due nuovi documenti della raccolta milanese pubblicati nell'opuscolo presentato dalla nostra scuola a questo XIV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia (P Med. inv. 71.44 e 72.16), e di un papiro di Ossirinco inedito gentilmente segnalatomi da J.R.Rea.

Tali considerazioni saranno più ampiamente sviluppate e documentate nell'introduzione al volume che raccoglierà i documenti, con la relativa bibliografia.

I termini epikrinein, epikrisis già in età tolemaica hanno assunto un significato tecnico, però la loro documentazione finora è ristretta alle città greche (P Rev. Law, 28,6; P Hibeh, II, 197), riguarda procedimenti giudiziari concernenti case e terreni, e non pare in alcun modo riferirsi all'amministrazione o al sistema fiscale, come sarà in età romana.

Sembra dunque che l'amministrazione romana abbia mutuato questi vocaboli dal linguaggio giuridico, per indicare un procedimento di verifica e di discriminazione attuato in Egitto (e forse in altri paesi di lingua greca), dove l'esistenza di due o più strati etnico-culturali (indigeni, ellenizzati, Greci) creava il presupposto per tale discriminazione.

Il termine epikrisis acquista questo significato tecnico preciso nel linguaggio amministrativo durante il corso del I secolo d. Cr.

In alcuni documenti infatti epikrisis indica il censimento domiciliare: un uso che si giustifica per il fatto che il censimento comprendeva varie operazioni, tra cui lo spoglio e la verifica delle denunce eseguita negli uffici, e la redazione di liste della popolazione distinte secondo le diverse categorie, fasi per cui è appropriato il nome di epikrisis, che talora viene esteso a tutto il procedimento o anche alla prima fase di esso, la denuncia. Così avviene in 25^P P Oxy. II 288; 38/9^P o 42/3^P O Brussel Berlin 14; 90^P P Hamb. 60; 160^P SB VIII 9869; P Lond. III 915 verso, pp.26-28; II^P P Oxy.XLI 2981; II-III^P BGU II 388; 179^P P Amh. II,99 a b ; 147^P VBP IV 75 b .

Il rapporto tra apographe ed epikrisis nelle opera-

zioni di censimento è indicata con precisione in un documento d'ufficio (205/6-211^P BGU III 484): epikrasis kat'oikian apographes, cioè "esame (o verifica) della dichiarazione domiciliare". L'espressione "ek pediakou epikriseos" (P Oxy. X 1287; P Ryl. IV 599 = SB V 8032; PSI V 450 verso col.II; tutti del III^P in.) ha una spiegazione analoga, come già vide il Wilcken: pediakon epikriseos è la descrizione topografica, casa per casa, degli amphoda cittadini, ricavata dalle denunce di censimento.

Il significato più specifico di epikrasis però si fissa nella seconda metà del I sec. d.Cr., ed è quello, ben noto, di esame dei titoli che un individuo afferma di possedere per appartenere ad una categoria privilegiata, esame che, nel suo svolgimento più completo, comporta una comparizione personale dell'individuo stesso, accompagnato da tre garanti d'identità o gnosteres, davanti ad una commissione di funzionari in veste di epikritai.

Non mi occupo qui della epikrasis dei sacerdoti egiziani, che sembra sia stata istituita prima d'ogni altra (cfr. 4^a BGU IV 1199), nè di quella dei veterani, Romani e Alessandrini e dei loro liberti e schiavi, che ha formalità proprie, nè della epikrasis degli efebi, che riguarda i cittadini delle città greche e gli apo gymnasίου di alcune "metropoli" (ma non coincide con l'epikrasis degli apogymnasίου: cfr. p.es. 217^P P Oxy. IX 1202).

Per l'epikrasis dei Greco-Egizi lo stato delle fonti è il seguente:

Arsinoe: apo tes metropoleos, 17 documenti; katoikoi, 4 documenti.

Ossirinco: metropolitai dodekadrachmoi, 15 documenti; apo gymnasίου, 10 documenti (compreso il P Oxy.ined.)

Hermopolis Magna: metropolitai oktadrachmoi - apo gymnasίου, 7 documenti

Heracleopolis Magna: oktadrachmoi, 1 documento.

Vi sono inoltre numerose allusioni in denunce di censimento e in liste della popolazione (cfr. soprattutto PLond. 260 + PER, in Stud. Pal. IV pp.58 sgg., del 72/3^P, per Arsinoe), ma anche in altri documenti, ivi compresi lettere private e inviti a pranzo.

Questa istituzione è una delle testimonianze più eloquenti della politica del governo romano nei riguardi della popolazione greco-egizia, la cui posizione fu sempre ben distinta da quella degli Alessandrini, i soli che potessero pervenire direttamente alla cittadinanza romana, e dei quali infatti, come si è detto, l'epikrasis veniva eseguita insieme con quella dei cittadini romani residenti in Egitto, a cura del prefetto o di un suo delegato.

Lo strumento primo e principale di controllo della po-

polazione fu sempre il censimento quattordicennale: le dichiarazioni di nascita e di morte e le dichiarazioni per l'epikrasis erano complementari delle denunce di censimento, e, a quanto ci risulta finora, si aggiunsero in un secondo tempo. Per una storia dell'amministrazione romana in Egitto sarebbe interessante poter stabilire attraverso quali tappe e gradi si arrivò a questa organizzazione di controlli sempre più specializzati e complessi. Dai documenti pervenutici riguardanti l'epikrasis risulta quanto segue:

1. Augusto dovette regolare in primo luogo la situazione interna di Alessandria, come dimostra il ben noto papiro della boulè (che io credo di età augustea). Pur non concedendo la boulè, dovette instaurare un controllo più rigoroso della cittadinanza alessandrina, come è dimostrato, fra l'altro, da BGU IV 1140 = Chr.W. 58 = CPJud. II 151, del 5/4^a, minuta di una petizione, in cui, attraverso le correzioni, s'intravedono gli abusi precedenti e la riluttanza ad accettare il nuovo stato di cose.

2. La distinzione tra gli apo tes metropoleos e gli apo tou nomou risale all'età augustea (OGIS 709, del 1^P), e doveva risultare nelle denunce dei primi censimenti domiciliari, di età augustea, di cui non abbiamo altro documento se non P Med. 3, e di cui ignoriamo la periodicità.

3. La prima categoria privilegiata per la quale pare si sia avuta una revisione generale e un riconoscimento sembra sia quella degli apo gymnasίου di Ossirinco, dei quali fu redatta nel 4/5^P una graphè a cui si rifanno i discendenti fino alla seconda metà del III^P; una epikrasis generale di questa categoria avvenne dopo due generazioni, nel 72/3^P, e anche questa è ricordata dai discendenti. Dal papiro di Ossirinco inedito citato all'inizio risulta che nel 56/7 e nel 57/8 ebbe luogo un'altra operazione riguardante questa categoria, probabilmente con l'immissione di persone i cui ascendenti non erano entrati nella lista del 4/5^P: una menzione di tale operazione riconosciamo ora anche in P Oxy. X 1266.

4. I primi imperatori, e probabilmente Augusto stesso, dovettero riconoscere i privilegi di altre categorie, come risulta dalla lettera di Nerone P Med. 70.01 per i katokoi dell'Arsinoite. Ma, almeno per questi ultimi, non sembra che vi siano state epikriseis fino a quella che ebbe luogo nel primo anno di Nerone, seguita da un'altra nel 61/2, in occasione del censimento.

5. Gli apo gymnasίου di Hermopolis Magna sembra abbiano avuto una epikrasis generale nel 63/4^P.

6. Meno informati siamo per Heracleopolis Magna e per l'Eracleopolite: sappiamo che nel capoluogo esistevano i metropolitai oktadrachmoi, mentre nel nomo sono attestati

i katoikoi: la situazione sembra analoga a quella del vicino Arsinoite.

7. Degli apo gymnasiou di Memfi rimane solo una menzione incidentale (156P P Lond. II 317 r.5 p.209).

Ci furono dunque epikriseis generali straordinarie per le categorie più elevate (katoikoi, apo gymnasiou), e una per gli apo tes metropoleos di Arsinoe, nel 90/1^p, attestata da P Med. 71.44 e da P Brux. E 8017 = SB VI 9163. Per i metropolitai di Ossirinco non c'è, finora, alcuna testimonianza di una epikrasis straordinaria.

La situazione varia da nomo a nomo, come è già stato osservato, ma non possiamo affermare che l'iniziativa, se non le modalità, di questi controlli fosse di competenza dei singoli strateghi. È vero che l'epikrasis generale del 72/3 (Ossirinco, apo gymnasiou) è ricordata nei documenti come avvenuta per opera dello stratego Sutorio Sosibio e del basilicogrammateo Nicandro, ma è probabile che i funzionari locali abbiano agito in seguito a direttive del prefetto: in P Brux. inv. E 8017, citato, per l'epikrasis straordinaria del 90/1 ad Arsinoe si fa menzione di un'ordinanza del prefetto Mettio Rufo. Il 90/1 è l'anno che segue immediatamente quello di censimento e nel quale affluiscono le denunce: si direbbe che l'epikrasis straordinaria sia stata ordinata per completare e documentare i dati delle denunce. L'epikrasis straordinaria degli apo gymnasiou di Hermopolis del 63/4 segue di due anni il censimento, cioè cade nel momento in cui, terminate le presentazioni delle denunce, se ne iniziava lo spoglio e la verifica. L'epikrasis straordinaria degli apo gymnasiou di Ossirinco nel 72/3 cade in un periodo di particolare rigore fiscale, nei primi anni del principato di Vespasiano.

Le epikriseis generali straordinarie sono analoghe a quelle apographai di proprietà che per convenzione chiamiamo "generali": vi sono anzi alcune vicinanze o coincidenze cronologiche fra i due tipi di controllo: nel 63 vi è un'apographè generale e l'epikrasis degli apo gymnasiou di Hermopolis; l'apographè generale dell'89/90 precede di un anno l'epikrasis generale degli apo tes metropoleos di Arsinoe, ed è, insieme con questa e con l'editto conservatoci in P Oxy. II 237 col. VIII rr. 27-43, documento dell'attività del prefetto Mettio Rufo in questo settore dell'amministrazione.

Ma un'altra constatazione s'impone: Augusto dovette dare le linee della sistemazione in categorie e operare i primi controlli mediante il censimento, e, per i Greci di Ossirinco, mediante la graphè del 4/5. Dopo di lui non pare che altri controlli generali siano stati eseguiti fino a Nerone. Il principato di Nerone ne conta almeno quattro: nel 55 e

nel 60/1 per i katoikoi ad Arsinoe, l'epikrasis del biennio 56/7-57/8 per gli apo gymnasiou ad Ossirinco, quella del 63/4 per gli apo gymnasiou di Hermopolis. Sotto Vespasiano e Domiziano hanno luogo l'epikrasis del 72/3 ad Ossirinco e quella del 90/1 ad Arsinoe. L'epikrasis regolare a 13/14 anni sembra sia stata istituita nel periodo che va dall'inizio del principato neroniano agli ultimi anni di quello di Domiziano. I primi ad averla pare siano stati i katoikoi dell'Arsinoite, per i quali è documentata dal registro dell'amfodarco Eraclide (Stud. Pal. IV pp. 58 sgg.). Gli apo tes metropoleos di Arsinoe sembra non l'abbiano avuta se non a partire dal 90/1: la più antica dichiarazione che ci sia pervenuta è del 96 o del 98 (P Med. Inv. 71.44). Per i metropolitai di Ossirinco la più antica testimonianza è P Ryl. II 278 descr. (72-79P); per gli apo gymnasiou della stessa città la più antica menzione di epikrasis regolare è del 79/80 (citata nella dichiarazione di un discendente, P Oxy. XVIII 2186, 260P): può darsi che abbia avuto inizio a partire dall'epikrasis straordinaria del 72/3. Per gli apo gymnasiou di Hermopolis è probabile che abbia avuto inizio a partire da quella generale del 63/4. Per gli oktadrachmoi di Heracleopolis Magna siamo completamente all'oscuro.

Sembra dunque che l'ordinamento augusteo, fondato unicamente sui dati del censimento, abbia funzionato senza modifiche o ulteriori aggiunte fino all'inizio del principato neroniano, che si distingue per una serie di controlli operati in vari luoghi e a breve distanza di tempo. Può darsi che la crisi economica, che già si delineava sotto Claudio, abbia influito nell'indurre a moltiplicare e perfezionare tali controlli. Si pensi poi all'ondata di Alessandrini che pervengono alla prefettura o alla procuratela del fisco durante il principato di Nerone e dei Flavi (forse Alessandrino era Balbillo, certo lo erano Ti. Giulio Alessandro e Norbano Tolemeo e molto probabilmente Lisimaco); si pensi alla tradizionale preoccupazione di questi Greci d'Alessandria di evitare che indigeni o Ebrei si introducano tra le loro file: è probabile che la loro presenza nelle più alte cariche dell'Egitto abbia contribuito a determinare, certo anche sotto la spinta di direttive venute da Roma, questo perfezionamento del controllo della popolazione. Con ciò va messa in relazione anche la riorganizzazione delle tribù Alessandrine che si ebbe all'inizio del principato di Nerone: essa dovette essere prima di tutto, nell'intenzione di chi la promosse, un mezzo per controllare il corpus dei politici di Alessandria ed espellerne gli intrusi; anch'essa, in sostanza, una specie di epikrasis generale straordinaria.

Quando cessa la documentazione dell'epikrasis?

Per i katoikoi dell'Arsinoite l'ultima dichiarazione

è del 195 (BGU III 971), ma abbiamo notizia di questa categoria fino al 245 (SB I 4299).

Per gli apo tes metropoleos di Arsinoe l'ultimo documento è del 235 (BGU XI 2086).

Per gli apo gymnasii di Hermopolis Magna il documento più tardo è del 215 (P Strasb. 219).

Per i metropolitai di Ossirinco si arriva press'a poco allo stesso periodo: gli ultimi due documenti (SB VI 9162 = P Erlangen 31; SB VI 9161) sono di poco posteriori alla Constitutio Antoniniana, la quale dovette togliere gran parte del suo valore a questa distinzione di categorie.

La documentazione dura più a lungo, invece, per gli apo gymnasii di Ossirinco: l'ultima dichiarazione è del 276 (PSI V 457); abbondanti documenti sull'esistenza di epikri-
thentes si trovano nel vol. P Oxy. XLI (268-271); una denuncia di nascita di un dodekadrachmos apo gymnasii è di età diocleziana (287P PSI III 164).

Questi dati confermano quanto sappiamo sulla decadenza nel III secolo della borghesia cittadina ellenizzata, in particolare ad Arsinoe, dove un sintomo di ciò si coglie anche nei dati che ci forniscono le dichiarazioni per l'epikrisis degli apo tes metropoleos: mentre fino alla metà del II^P si risale sempre, mediante le denunce di censimento, fino ai nonni del ragazzo epikrinomenon, dalla metà del secolo in poi non si va oltre i genitori: il che significa che la qualità di apo tes metropoleos può essere anche molto recente, e che perciò molti originari dei villaggi possono essere subentrati a colmare i vuoti nelle file dei cittadini. L'ellenismo invece ha più salde radici in Ossirinco. L'importanza numerica e culturale dei discendenti dei Greci di Ossirinco, come è dimostrata dalla precocità della graphè del 4/5^P, dai frequenti rapporti con Alessandria e con gli Alessandrini, dall'alto livello della sua cultura letteraria, così lo è pure dalla persistenza delle istituzioni greche, che in parte resistono fino alle soglie dell'età bizantina.

DIE ANGEBLICHE VERWANDTSCHAFT
ZWISCHEN DEN PTOLEMÄISCHEN UND PHARAONISCHEN
HOFRANGTITELN

Leon Mooren

Aangesteld Navorsers N.F.W.O.

Das Phänomen der ptolemäischen Hoftitulatur ist wohlbekannt. Seit Anfang des zweiten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. finden wir in den Papyri und Inschriften eine Reihe von Ehrentiteln, die von hohen königlichen Funktionären geführt werden. Es begegnen uns συγγενεῖς, πρότοι φίλοι, ἀρχισωματοφύλακες, φίλοι, διδάδοχοι und σωματοφύλακες. Dazu kommen später die Klassen der ὁμότιμοι τοῖς συγγενέσιν und der ἰσότιμοι τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις.

Hinsichtlich des Ursprungs dieses Systems sind die Meinungen noch immer geteilt. Ptolemaios V. Epiphanes oder einer seiner Minister — unseres Erachtens war es Aristomenes von Akarnanien — hat in den neunziger Jahren des zweiten Jahrhunderts eine Titelhierarchie kreiert. Es ist klar, dass er dabei teilweise vom Titelwesen des dritten Jahrhunderts inspiriert worden ist. Damals gab es die Bezeichnungen φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ und σωματοφύλαξ. Aber woher kamen die anderen Titel? Und woher stammte die Idee einer abgestuften Hierarchie?

Schon Max L. Strack hat in seinem 1900 erschienenen Aufsatz Griechische Titel im Ptolemäerreich (1) die Frage nach dem Muster der ptolemäischen Ehrentitulatur gestellt und das Problem gleich in einen grösseren Zusammenhang eingeordnet. "Der Entscheid in dieser Frage", meint Strack, "hat etwas mehr als blosses Sachinteresse. Er liefert wieder einen Beitrag zu der grösseren Frage, ob die Ptolemäer zu Pharaonen im Lauf der Zeit geworden sind oder nicht" (2). Die Idee einer Anlehnung an das ägyptische Hofzeremoniell wird besonders attraktiv, wenn man bedenkt, dass Ptolemaios Epiphanes 197 v. Chr. in Memphis nach ägyptischem Ritus gekrönt worden ist. Strack ist jedoch der Meinung, dass der Pharaonenhof für die Einführung des Titelwesens nicht als Modell gedient haben kann, weil mit der Zeit auch die Tradition hinsichtlich solcher Ausserlichkeiten, wie es Titel sind, verschwunden sein muss. Da der genannte Autor auch den zeitlichen Abstand zum Hofe Alexanders des Grossen als zu gross betrachtet, bleibt für ihn nur der Seleukidenhof als Ursprungsort der Ehrentitulatur übrig. Hier sei nur bemerkt, dass die Stracksche Argumentation in eine Sackgasse führt.

Denn sollte man das Vorbild für die Seleukiden suchen, bliebe — angesichts der zeitlichen Entfernung von den Höfen der Perser und der Makedonen — nur der Ptolemäerhof übrig.

Maria Trindl hat 1942 in ihrer Dissertation Ehrentitel im Ptolemäerreich (3) die Frage nach der eventuellen Verwandtschaft zwischen den ptolemäischen und den pharaonischen Hofrangtiteln wieder aufgenommen und zu zeigen versucht, dass Strack die Kraft der ägyptischen Tradition unterschätzt hat. Sie weist darauf hin, dass man in den ägyptischen Titeln $\rho\eta$ $n\acute{s}wt$ (Bekannter oder Verwandter des Königs), $\acute{s}mr$ w^tj (einzigster Freund) und $\acute{s}mr$ (Freund) ein Gegenstück zu den ptolemäischen Bezeichnungen $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omega\nu$ $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$ und $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$ findet. Die Regierung, so meint sie, hat mit der Titelverleihung nicht nur die Loyalität der Reichsbeamten der Krone gegenüber, sondern auch die Autorität dieser Funktionäre den Ägyptern gegenüber zu steigern versucht. Für die Ägypter waren Titel ja keine blossen Äusserlichkeiten und man könnte annehmen, sie würden einem durch seinen Titel mit der Majestät des Königs verbundenen Beamten bereitwilliger Gehorsam leisten. Trindl hält es deshalb für durchaus möglich, dass der Schöpfer des Systems direkt an das pharaonische Titelwesen angeknüpft hat (4).

Diese Hypothese ist auch mehrfach von ägyptologischer Seite vertreten worden (5). Manche gehen noch einen Schritt weiter und sind der Ansicht, dass der Titel $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ auf den pharaonischen Titel $\acute{s}mr$ zurückgeführt werden kann. Diese Behauptung müssen wir aber entschieden zurückweisen. Es gibt keinen unmittelbaren Zusammenhang zwischen den ptolemäischen $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ und den ägyptischen $\acute{s}mrw$. Die hellenistischen Königsfreunde sind makedonischen Ursprungs. Damit soll nicht gesagt sein, dass die beiden Gruppen überhaupt nichts miteinander zu tun haben. Zwischen diesen und vielen ähnlichen Gruppen, wie z.B. den persischen Königsfreunden und den römischen amici principis, kann ein soziologisches Band nachgewiesen werden. In allen diesen Fällen handelt es sich um das Phänomen der Gefolgschaft.

Das Muster für den späteren Titel $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$, mit dem im zweiten Jahrhundert eine Anzahl von Reichsbeamten geehrt worden ist, hat man ohne Zweifel in dem alten, gemeinhellenistischen Titel $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ zu suchen. Übrigens sei bemerkt, dass die einfache Bezeichnung $\acute{s}mr$ für die Ptolemäerzeit wenig oder nicht bezeugt wird.

Dagegen haben die hieroglyphischen und demotischen Quellen eine nicht unansehnliche Reihe von Ägyptern mit dem Titel eines $\acute{s}mr$ w^tj oder eines $\rho\eta$ $n\acute{s}wt$ überliefert. Aus den in der Prosopographia Ptolemaica verzeichneten Fällen (7) geht hervor, dass die Ptolemäer jedenfalls die Möglichkeit hatten, diese Titel zu kennen. Ob sie diese Titel auch wirklich gekannt haben, ist natürlich eine andere Frage.

Das Problem der eventuellen Verwandtschaft zwischen $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ und $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omega\nu$ $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$ einerseits und $\rho\eta$ $n\acute{s}wt$ und $\acute{s}mr$ w^tj

andererseits kann nur gelöst werden, wenn wir einen echten Vergleich zwischen den zwei Gruppen ziehen können, d.h. wenn wir auch die Bedeutung und den hierarchischen Wert der betreffenden pharaonischen Titel zu bestimmen vermögen. Es gibt bis heute keine umfassende Arbeit über das sehr reiche ägyptische Titelwesen, ebensowenig eine Prosopographie der ägyptischen Titelträger oder ein systematisches Verzeichnis dieser Titel (8). Dennoch befinden wir uns in einer besseren Lage als seinerzeit Maria Trindl. Die Untersuchungen des belgischen Forschers J. Pirenne, Histoire des institutions et du droit privé de l'ancienne Egypte, die aus den dreissiger Jahren stammen (9), sind in der Zwischenzeit fortgesetzt und ergänzt worden durch wichtige neuere Studien, von denen wir insbesondere nennen: W. Helck, Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches (10); ders., Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs (11); und K. Baer, Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (12). Zu unserer Verfügung steht auch eine grosse Anzahl von Aufsätzen und Textkommentaren neueren Datums. Für eine ausführliche Bibliographie dürfen wir auf unseren 1968 erschienenen Aufsatz Über die ptolemäischen Hofrangtitel verweisen (13).

Aus dieser Literatur geht klar hervor, dass die beiden genannten und viele andere pharaonische Ehrentitel immer noch Gegenstand der Diskussion sind und es wohl auch bleiben werden. Dennoch lässt sich ein Bild gewinnen, das hinsichtlich des Verhältnisses zu den griechischen Ehrentiteln zu ziemlich sicheren Schlüssen führen kann.

Zuerst die Bezeichnung $\acute{s}mr$ w^tj . Meistens wird angenommen, dass $\acute{s}mr$ "Freund" und $\acute{s}mr$ w^tj "einzigster Freund" bedeutet. Aber wie wir schon in unserem bereits erwähnten Aufsatz angedeutet haben, sind diese Übersetzungen umstritten — besonders die Interpretation des Prädikats w^tj ist mit einem Fragezeichen zu versehen (14). Weiterhin stellen wir fest, dass $\acute{s}mr$ w^tj in der Ptolemäerzeit bestimmt keine Wiedergabe des Titels $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omega\nu$ $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$ sein kann. In der Tat kennen wir einige Personen, die in ein und demselben Text $\acute{s}mr$ w^tj und $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ genannt werden: so die Strategen Panas (15) und Pamenches (16). Ihr Hofrang ist $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$; $\acute{s}mr$ w^tj ist ein traditioneller ägyptischer Titel wie "Erbfürst", "Schatzmeister des Königs" usw.

Zweitens die Bezeichnung $\rho\eta$ $n\acute{s}wt$. In diesem Fall scheint sich ein Bedeutungswandel vollzogen zu haben. Der Titel soll ursprünglich $irj-ih.t$ $n\acute{s}wt$, "der zu den Angelegenheiten des Königs Gehörige", gelautet haben und dann im Mittleren Reich als $\rho\eta$ $n\acute{s}wt$ gelesen und als "Bekannter des Königs" interpretiert worden sein (17). In der Ptolemäerzeit, so glauben E. Drioton (18) und Marie-Louise Buhl (19), stimmt $\rho\eta$ $n\acute{s}wt$ mit $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ überein. Diese Gleichsetzung wird von H. De Meulenaere (20) mit Recht für unbeweisbar gehalten. Wir können hinzufügen, dass es nahezu ausgeschlossen ist, die Personen, die im dritten Band der Prosopographia Ptolemaica mit dem

Titel "parent royal" (meistens mit Fragezeichen) versehen worden sind, als $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ zu betrachten. Aber H. De Meulenaere (21) hat berechtigten Grund anzunehmen, dass der Titel $rh\ n\acute{s}wt$ in der Ptolemäerzeit nicht länger existiert hat und dass das Zeichen, hinter dem man die Bezeichnung $rh\ n\acute{s}wt$ vermutet hat, vielmehr als "le prêtre-sem" interpretiert werden muss. Damit kommt die Idee einer Verwandtschaft zwischen $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ und $rh\ n\acute{s}wt$ wohl auf sehr schwankenden Boden zu stehen.

Ein weiteres Gegenargument liefert das Rangverhältnis der Titel $\acute{s}mr\ w^tj$ und $rh\ n\acute{s}wt$. Für das Alte Reich hat man nachweisen können, dass $\acute{s}mr\ w^tj$ der höhere von beiden ist (22). Dies gilt auch für die Ptolemäerzeit. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass die "einzigen Freunde" eine wichtigere Stellung als die "Bekanntes des Königs" bzw. die "Priester-sem" einnahmen. Aber in der ptolemäischen Titelhierarchie hatten die $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ den Vorrang vor den $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\iota\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\iota$.

Damit entfällt eigentlich jeder Grund zur Annahme einer Entlehnung des ptolemäischen Titelwesens aus dem pharaonischen. Die Ähnlichkeit, die man auf den ersten Blick feststellen konnte, hat sich bei genauer Untersuchung als oberflächlich erwiesen. Darüber dürfen wir uns nicht wundern. Es gibt viele Ähnlichkeiten zwischen vielen Titelsystemen, nicht nur zwischen dem ptolemäischen und dem pharaonischen.

In diesem Zusammenhang soll noch ein anderer Titel berücksichtigt werden, und zwar $sn\ n\acute{s}wt$ bzw. $sn\ n\ pr-^{\prime}3$, dem wir am Ende der Ptolemäerzeit ziemlich häufig in den hieroglyphischen und demotischen Quellen begegnen (23). Nach G. Möller (24), W. Spiegelberg (25) und K. Sethe (26), denen Maria Trindl (27), H. Ranke (28) und zuletzt J. Yoyotte (29) zustimmten, wird diese Bezeichnung in den ägyptischen Texten benützt, um den Titel $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ wiederzugeben. Obwohl es sich nicht um genau entsprechende Ausdrücke handelt, kann man doch zugunsten der Gleichsetzung anführen, dass der $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ vom König mit $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$ angeredet wird (30). Aber der Beweis fehlt. Das heisst mit anderen Worten, dass wir keinen zweisprachigen Text haben, der $sn\ n\acute{s}wt$ (bzw. $sn\ n\ pr-^{\prime}3$) und $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ zusammenbringt. Wie schon H. De Meulenaere (31) angedeutet hat, können gegen diese Gleichsetzung auch Bedenken vorgebracht werden. So bedarf es einer Erklärung, warum in einigen Texten die Titel $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ ($snjns$) und "Bruder des Königs" ($sn\ n\ pr-^{\prime}3$) nebeneinander erwähnt sind (32). Ausserdem scheint der Titel $sn\ n\acute{s}wt$ vorhellenistischen Ursprungs zu sein. Nach J.H. Walker (33) und H. De Meulenaere (34) ist er bereits von einem Wesir aus der XXX. Dynastie geführt worden (35). Dagegen meinen W.M. Flinders Petrie (36) und H. Ranke (37), dass es sich hier nicht um eine Rangbezeichnung handelt. Mit Amphiomis, dem Sohn des Pelaias, liegt ein sicherer Fall vor. Er ist u.a. "Erbfürst, einziger Freund, Bruder des Königs und grosser Truppenführer im Gau von Mendes" (38). Auf Grund der Gleichsetzung der Bezeichnungen $sn\ n\acute{s}wt = \sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ und $imj-r\ m\acute{s}\ wr$ (grosser Truppenführer) = $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ hat H. Ranke (39) das Denkmal des Amphio-

mis in die Zeit nach 120 v. Chr. datiert; in diesem Jahr begegnet uns der erste Gaustrategie, der den $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ angehört (40). B. von Bothmer, H. De Meulenaere und H.W. Müller (41) bevorzugen jedoch die Regierung des Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos und weisen somit die Statue des Amphiomis einer Zeit zu, in der es den griechischen $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ -Titel noch nicht gab. Schliesslich haben wir eine demotische Inschrift aus Karnak, die uns bekannt macht mit einem Lysimachos, "dem Bruder der Könige und Strategen" (42). Zum Datum bemerkt W. Spiegelberg, dass die Paläographie zur Datierung des Textes wenig beitragen kann; er setzt die Inschrift zögernd an das Ende der Ptolemäerzeit (43) und stellt den demotischen Titel gleich mit $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ (44). E. Seidl denkt ebenfalls an die späte Ptolemäerzeit (45), während H. Sottas keinen Grund sieht, die früher vorgeschlagene Datierung in das dritte Jahrhundert zu ändern (46).

Damit ergibt sich die Möglichkeit einer neuen Frage. Hat vielleicht die Bezeichnung $sn\ n\acute{s}wt$ (bzw. $sn\ n\ pr-^{\prime}3$) als Modell für den Titel $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ gedient? Beweisen lässt sich dies nicht, und die Wahrscheinlichkeit steht auch hier auf der anderen Seite. Wenn nur ein einziger Titel, für den man ein mögliches Muster namhaft machen kann, übrigbleibt, empfiehlt es sich, die gesamte ptolemäische Hofrangordnung als rein griechisch zu betrachten. Nebenbei sei bemerkt, dass es ebenso wenig Sinn hat, den ptolemäischen $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ -Titel auf den entsprechenden persischen, von Alexander dem Grossen übernommenen Hoftitel zurückzuführen (47).

So bleibt die Frage, wie die spätptolemäische Titelhierarchie zustande gekommen ist, offen. Wir haben versucht, sie in einer der ptolemäischen Ehrentitulatur gewidmeten Arbeit zu lösen, die nächstes Jahr in der Löwener Reihe Studia Hellenistica erscheinen wird. Hier dürfen wir uns auf einige Gedanken über den Kern der Sache beschränken. Strack hat mit Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass es sich um mehr als die Institution der Ehrentitulatur handelt. Im Hintergrund steht die Frage nach dem Verhältnis zwischen der griechischen und der ägyptischen Kultur im hellenistischen Ägypten. Haben die beiden Kulturen sich nebeneinander entwickelt oder sind sie zu einer Mischkultur geworden? Die zahlreichen Untersuchungen, die mein Lehrer, Professor W. Peremans, auf diesem Gebiet durchgeführt hat, machen die Annahme einer autonomen Entwicklung zweier Kulturen, auch im spätptolemäischen Ägypten, wahrscheinlich. Die soeben gezogene Schlussfolgerung, dass die ptolemäische Hofrangordnung eine rein griechische Schöpfung gewesen ist, kann nun diese Auffassung unterstützen.

- 1) RhM, 55 (1900), S. 161-190; siehe S. 174-175.
- 2) a.a.O., S. 174.
- 3) Erschienen in München (in Maschinenschrift).
- 4) Siehe S. 55-58, S. 91, S. 137-138, S. 148-149.
- 5) Siehe z.B. A.H. GARDINER, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, Oxford, I (1947), S. 20*: "The old suggestion that this title (scil. sole friend) was the origin of the predicate *prōtoi philoi*... From the Egyptological side the suggestion is very attractive". Vgl. Marie-Louise BUHL, The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi, København, 1959, S. 178: "It is also tempting to connect τῶν πρώτων φίλων with the Egyptian *šmr w.t*...".
- 6) Vgl. schon P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Life-Work, First Series, vol. II, Paris, 1903, S. 350-351 (= Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 12, 1890, S. 355-362).
- 7) *šmr w.tj*: siehe u.a. Pros. Ptol. I 293 (cf. W. SPIEGELBERG, Die demotischen Denkmäler I, S. 94), II 2125 (= III 5690), III 5563 (cf. H. DE MEULENAERE, Revue d'Egyptologie, 11, 1957, S. 84), 5665, 5679, 5795, 5808, 5835, 5839; *rh nšwt*: siehe u.a. Pros. Ptol. III 5441, 5442, 5540, 5547, 5557, 5603, 5840, 5842, 5857.
- 8) Vgl. S. SAUNERON, L'Egyptologie (Coll. "Que sais-je?" 1312), Paris, 1968, S. 103.
- 9) Brüssel, I (1932), II (1934), III (1935).
- 10) Glückstadt - Hamburg - New York, 1954 (Ägyptologische Forschungen 18).
- 11) Leiden - Köln, 1958 (Probleme der Ägyptologie 3).
- 12) Chicago, 1960.
- 13) Antidorum W. Peremans (Studia Hellenistica 16), Leuven, 1968, S. 161-180; siehe S. 166 A. 1.
- 14) a.a.O., S. 167. Siehe Margaret A. MURRAY, Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology Issued by the Institute of Archaeology - Liverpool, 1 (1908), S. 23; M. STRACMANS, CE, 36 (1961), S. 23-25. Vgl. auch P. LE PAGE RENOUF, a.a.O., S. 350: "There is not a particle of evidence that *šmer* ever meant 'friend'".
- 15) W. SPIEGELBERG, Die demotischen Denkmäler I, S. 94 (= G. DARESSY, Rec. Trav., 15, 1893, S. 159-161 Nr. 8 und L. BORCHARDT, Statuen und Statuetten III, S. 34-35 Nr. 690); cf. K. SETHE, ZÄS, 58 (1923), S. 149; H. DE MEULENAERE, RSO, 34 (1959), S. 7.
- 16) W. SPIEGELBERG, ZÄS, 57 (1922), S. 88-90 (= G. DARESSY, Ann. Serv., 18, 1919, S. 186-189): siehe den hieroglyphischen Text, S. 89.
- 17) Die Bibliographie in unserem oben (A. 13) zitierten Aufsatz, S. 167. Vgl. H. GOEDICKE, MDAI(K), 21 (1966), S. 61-62, der es für wahrscheinlich hält, dass bereits im Alten Reich beide Titelformen bestanden; siehe nun H. BRUNNER, Der Bekannte des Königs, Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, 1 (1974), S. 55-60.
- 18) Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte, 33 (1950-1951), S. 250.
- 19) The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi, København, 1959, S. 174, S. 178, S. 205.
- 20) Un titre memphite méconnu, Mélanges Mariette (IFAO, Bibliothèque d'études 32), 1961, S. 285-290 (siehe S. 285 A. 5).
- 21) a.a.O.
- 22) Siehe W. HELCK, Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reich (Ägyptologische Forschungen 18), Glückstadt - Hamburg - New York, 1954, S. 26-28.

- 23) Siehe W. SPIEGELBERG, Die demotischen Denkmäler I, S. 10 Nr. 31083, S. 23 Nr. 31092 und S. 24-25 Nr. 31093; III, S. 14-16 Nr. 50044, S. 17-18 Nr. 50045; ders., ZÄS, 57 (1922), S. 88-90 demotischer Text (= Die demotischen Denkmäler III, S. 19-20 Nr. 50047) und 62 (1927), S. 32-34; G. DARESSY, Ann. Serv., 16 (1916), S. 268-270 und 17 (1917), S. 91-93 (cf. H. DE MEULENAERE, RSO, 34, 1959, S. 10-11); KAMAL, Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines I, S. 19-20 Nr. 22018 und S. 46 Nr. 22050 (cf. Pros. Ptol. III 5708; H. DE MEULENAERE, a.a.O., S. 6, S. 16, S. 24; J. YOYOTTE, in Religions en Egypte hellénistique et romaine, Paris, 1969, S. 134); C.E. SANDER-HANSEN, Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchesneferibre (= British Museum 32), S. 4-5 (cf. Pros. Ptol. III 5690 und W. SPIEGELBERG, Rec. Trav., 26, N.S. 10, 1904, S. 50-51); G. MÖLLER, Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind, I 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; II 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; H. DE MEULENAERE, RSO, 34 (1959), S. 12-17: Statue Detroit 51.83 (cf. B. VON BOTHMER - H. DE MEULENAERE - H.W. MÜLLER, Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, Brooklyn, 1960, S. 178-179 Nr. 136; J. YOYOTTE, a.a.O., S. 136 und A. 5).
- 24) Rhindglossar, S. 19 Nr. 119 und S. 24 Nr. 156.
- 25) ZÄS, 51 (1914), S. 70 und A. 4; 53 (1917), S. 128-129; 57 (1922), S. 89 A. 4; 62 (1927), S. 34.
- 26) ZÄS, 58 (1923), S. 149-150.
- 27) Ehrentitel im Ptolemäerreich, Diss., München, 1942, S. 217 (siehe die Liste S. 204-206).
- 28) JAOS, 73 (1953), S. 196-197.
- 29) Religions en Egypte hellénistique et romaine, Paris, 1969, S. 135.
- 30) Sie U. WILCKEN, Archiv, 5 (1913), S. 415-416 Z. 17 (Boethos = Pros. Ptol. I 188); A. BERNAND, Inscr. Philae I 19B Z. 13 (Lochos = Pros. Ptol. I 195); Inscr. Brit. Mus. IV 1066 Z. 26 (Phommous = Pros. Ptol. I 202) und Z. 36 (Hermokrates = Pros. Ptol. I 191).
- 31) RSO, 34 (1959), S. 22 A. 2.
- 32) Siehe W. SPIEGELBERG, Die demotischen Denkmäler I, S. 10 Nr. 31083, S. 23 Nr. 31092 und S. 24-25 Nr. 31093; III, S. 14-16 Nr. 50044, S. 17-18 Nr. 50045; ders., ZÄS, 62 (1927), S. 32-34.
- 33) In W.M. FLINDERS PETRIE, Memphis I (British School of Archaeology in Egypt 1908), London, 1909, S. 20-21 Nr. 58.
- 34) RSO, 34 (1959), S. 22 A. 2.
- 35) Siehe W.M. FLINDERS PETRIE, Memphis I, S. 13 Nr. 39 und Pl. XXXI-XXXII (New York, Metropolitan Museum 08.205.1).
- 36) Memphis I, S. 13 Nr. 39.
- 37) JAOS, 73 (1953), S. 197 A. 20.
- 38) H. RANKE, The Statue of a Ptolemaic *ETPATHIOE* of the Mendesian Nome in the Cleveland Museum of Art, JAOS, 73 (1953), S. 193-198 (Statue Cleveland 48.141).
- 39) a.a.O., S. 196-197.
- 40) Siehe Pros. Ptol. I 299.
- 41) Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period (700 B.C. to A.D. 100), Brooklyn, 1960, S. 122-125 Nr. 97; vgl. schon H. DE MEULENAERE, RSO, 34 (1959), S. 22 A. 2.
- 42) W. SPIEGELBERG, Die demotischen Denkmäler I, S. 53-54 Nr. 31137.
- 43) a.a.O., Kommentar.
- 44) ZÄS, 57 (1922), S. 91 Nr. 4.

- 45) In W. OTTO-H. BENGTON, Zur Geschichte des Niederganges, S. 102 A. 5.
 46) In M. HOLLEAUX, Etudes d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques III, S. 385 A. 1. Zu Lysimachos sehe man weiter H. HENNE, Liste des stratèges, S. 40; H. BENGTON, Die Strategie III², S. 222 Nr. 99 und A. 2.
 47) Arrian VII 11.6-7.

The importance of the material found in the papyri, ostraca and inscriptions from Egypt for a survey of Ptolemaic and Roman trade with the East has been much neglected in studies of the spice and silk trade from E.H. Warmington's *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, (1928) to J.I. Miller's *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire 29 B.C. - A.D. 641*, (1961). This oversight is unfortunate, since the papyrological evidence in particular can be made to yield some interesting results.

Objects or persons designated as 'Ινδός or 'Ινδικός in papyri and inscriptions are the most obvious starting point. Unfortunately the matter is not as straightforward as O. Stein, who first studied the papyrological occurrences of these words in 1923 assumed¹. For example, Zenon's faithful hound Ταύρων, described as 'Ινδόν in a papyrus copy of the epitaph from his grave (*P.CairoZen. IV.59532*), is possibly a locally bred example of a species which originated from India. Dogs from India occur both in our literary sources and in works of art; however, they were already in Herodotus' day to be found in large numbers as far west as Babylon (*Hdt. I.192.4*). The appellation 'Ινδός may have no more meaning than the Milesian or Arabian sheep which occur in some of the Zenon papyri (e.g. *P.CairoZen. II.59142; 59195; III.59405; 59430; 59433*). On the other hand, the κάλαμος 'Ινδικός of *P.Lond. II.191* (A.D. 103-117) which appears in a list of household articles being sold by a widow, Tertia Ancharenia, in Karanis seems to be a genuine import. In the papyri κάλαμος usually means a tubular rod or reed (e.g. *B.G.U. II.619; P.Tebt. I.83; P.Flor. III.369*); however, I believe that the ὀκτω φλαγέλλιον καλάμου ἰωδικοῦ here mentioned are bunches of what Dioscorides calls κάλαμος ὁ εὐώδης (*I.17*), i.e. sweet flag or calamus, one of the best varieties of which was imported from India.

Of considerably greater significance is *P.Lond. II.260* = *Stud.Pal. I.p.74*, a fragment of a register relating to the poll-tax prepared by Heracleides ἀμφοδάρχης in the town of Arsinoe in A.D. 72-73. Among the 173 male adults listed in columns 1 to 5 three are in Italy and one, Γαίων ὁ καὶ Διόδωρος, is ἐν τῇ 'Ινδικῇ (*iii.549;579*). This provides valuable documentary evidence for the sea trade with India, otherwise known only from literature, in particular the anonymous Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, which may now be dated to the 60's of the first century of our era, and from two inscriptions from Palmyra². Lucian in the *Alexander* (44) mentions a young Paphlagonian student, who, while sailing up the Nile, was persuaded by his friends to embark on a voyage to India. The Palmyra inscriptions refer to voyages to Scythia - i.e. North-

west India - as a regular business venture. *P.Lond. II.260* confirms this general impression.

Of greater interest, but perhaps of less significance, is the appearance of men and women bearing the names 'Ινδός or 'Ινδίκη. In *P.Lond. I.131*, an account from A.D. 78-79 kept by a bailiff Didymus, one finds among a great many other local names of fields reference to the χωμα of 'Ινδιος (i.13). Again in *P.Oxy. II.300* of approximately the same date a woman 'Ινδίκη, the wife of Longinus, writes to a near relative Thaisous, the wife of Theon, who is the ἐλαιχρόστης at the gymnasium in Oxyrhynchus. Stein saw these papyri as proof of the role of India in the life of Roman Egypt. Corroborative evidence for the presence of Indians in Egypt was once thought to come from the Ptolemaic period. Flinders Petrie referred to a device found on a Ptolemaic tombstone as a "Buddhist prayer wheel" and the belief was given greater currency due to its elaboration by Tarn³. The whole theory has now been thoroughly discredited⁴. The Maurya emperor Aśoka records in his thirteenth Rock Edict that he sent an embassy to Ptolemy II⁵. What this in fact means is uncertain - the ambassadors may never have set foot in Egypt - but it was for religious not commercial reasons, as Fraser suggests, that the embassy was sent⁶. Indian settlers in Egypt or elsewhere in the Mediterranean world are a different matter. Not only do such "Indians" appear in the papyri but also in a number of inscriptions. From the Paneion at El-Kanais there is a dedication of the Ptolemaic period by Σόφρων 'Ινδός (*SB V.8648*); from Abu Simbel we have the graffito of a Σίρωνος 'Ινδός from the same period (*SB VIII.10019*). Outside of Egypt this name occurs in Asia Minor. L. Robert cites inscriptions from Apollonis in Lydia which mention Πρωτόμαχος Φιλόξενος 'Ινδός and Κλαυδία 'Ινδή⁷. There are also two funerary monuments from near Kara tepe in Cilicia, one mentioning Μιθρατάχης 'Ινδέους (*SEG XII.505*) and another 'Ινδης Κιλαλδου (*SEG XII.507*); finally from Laertes in Cilicia 'Ινδου[ς] Διοδώρου (*SEG XX.84*) and from Adanda in the same region an unknown male, the son of 'Ινδός (*SEG XX.92d*). Several possibilities are open. The least likely explanation is that all these people are Indians. The sites in Cilicia are sufficiently remote from major trade routes to make the visit by so many Indian merchants or slaves highly unlikely. Perhaps a better explanation is that 'Ινδός is a local proper name. A number of other considerations are to be borne in mind. Ethiopia and India were frequently confused in the ancient poets, particularly Vergil and Ovid, and in the geographers and historians⁸. Moreover, Bernand in an erroneous interpretation of the Adulis inscription of Ptolemy Euergetes I (*OGIS I.54*) suggests that official Ptolemaic documents also contain a similar confusion of India and Ethiopia. He believes the ἐλεφάντες Τρωγλοδυτικοί καὶ Αἰθιοπικοί of Ptolemy in line 10 of the document to be the same as the ἐλεφάντες 'Ινδικοί of line 16⁹. In fact this is not true. The inscription clearly indicates that the former are the elephants which Ptolemy took with him on his campaign while the latter are the famous Indian elephants of Seleucus. Furthermore, the Ethiopians and their neighbours, the Troglodutoi, as well as the countries of both peoples, are frequently referred to in inscriptions and papyri from Egypt (e.g. *IG Philae I.12 bis; II.128; 158; OGIS I.54; P.Col.Zen. I.5*). It is doubtful if many in Egypt confused India and Ethiopia.

A different approach is more fruitful. In Hesychius we find the following definition: 'Ινδός· ὁ τὸν ἐλέφαντα ἄγων ἀπ' Αἰθιοπίας. Elephants also spring to mind in another connection. Polybius several times

refers to the 'Ινδοί who ride the Carthaginian elephants in the First and Second Punic Wars (*I.40.15; III.46.7; XI.1.12*). Although some have thought that this indicates that both the elephants and their riders were Indians, the Carthaginian coins clearly show, as Gowers and Scullard have pointed out, that Hannibal's elephants were African - with perhaps one exception - and that the mahouts were African negroes. In fact, as Gsell long ago recognized, Polybius uses 'Ινδοί not as an ethnic term but as the Greek for mahout¹⁰. Hence we have another meaning for 'Ινδός. As Bernand saw, the 'Ινδοί of Egypt may well have something to do with elephant-hunting or training¹¹.

The adjectival form of the names 'Ινδιος and 'Ινδίκη found in the papyri may perhaps not be subject to such an explanation. What we know about the names of slaves, freedmen and free men in the Graeco-Roman world indicates that ethnic names need not signify a country of origin or even any other direct connection with the region. A classic example immediately suggests itself: Q. Caecilius Epirota, a freedman of Titus Pomponius Atticus. He was *natus Tusculi* (Suetonius, *Gram. 16*) and is not known to have had any connection with Epirus. It is thus impossible to draw any definite conclusions about the trade with India from the names in either the papyri or inscriptions from Egypt.

More conclusive, perhaps, are Arabian, Indian and East Asian goods found in the papyri. Of primary importance are spices; from South-east Asia these are: ἄλδη, ζιγγίβερις, καρυδάφυλλον and from India: ναρόδοσταχυς, κόστος, κάρδαμον, μαλάβαδρον and πέπερι¹². Sesame seeds or oil, contrary to what Miller believes, are Egyptian products whose production decreased from its peak in the third century B.C. but did not entirely disappear under the Roman Empire, and hence there is no need to assume India to be the only ancient source of sesame. From Arabia and East Africa, which cannot be separated from China and East Asia in an account of the spice trade, came ζιμόνα, κασία, λίβανος and κιννάμωμον. Fraser has stated that frankincense and myrrh were acclimatized and developed at an early stage in Egypt¹³. Efforts were made by Queen Hatsheput, recorded in the famed friezes of Deir el-Bahri, and several subsequent pharaohs to transplant frankincense or myrrh trees to Egypt from the land of Punt¹⁴. There is no papyrological evidence that this effort succeeded and botanists have suggested that such a transplantation may well have been doomed to failure from the start¹⁵.

The use of myrrh and frankincense, the primary ingredients of incense, is well attested in Egypt from the Pharaonic and Persian periods and the occurrence of these two substances in third century B.C. papyri comes as no surprise (e.g. *P.S.I. IV.328; VI.628; 678; P.CairoZen. II.59176*). The appearance of κασία and κιννάμωμον as relatively common products is somewhat unexpected¹⁶. A partial list of household stores (*P.CairoZen. IV.59536*) from 261 B.C., probably belonging to Apollonios, includes larger amounts of frankincense, myrrh, cassia and cinnamon than Seleucus donated as part of a very generous gift to the temple of Didyma a generation earlier (*OGIS I.214*). These spices also appear in other accounts from the Zenon archive and in an account from the Hibeh papyri of slightly later date (*P.Hib. II.271*). The immediate source of these spices is also known. They were shipped into Egypt from Arabia overland by way of Palestine. Two Cairo papyri (*P.CairoZen. I.59009; 59011*) and *P.S.I. VI.628*, which all seem to be part of the same document, have been taken to show that an official

entitled ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς λιβανωτικῆς with his seat in Gaza supervised the import of such aromatics. Apparently the elephant-hunting expeditions of Philadelphos into Somalia had not yet led to a direct importation of cassia and cinnamon from there. Somalia was the ancient source of these two spices as almost all classical authors attest. Miller has suggested that Somalia was simply a transshipment point for both these spices which he believes were imported into East Africa by intrepid Indonesians in outrigger canoes since the second millennium B.C.¹⁷. If this were the case we would have Chinese and South-east Asian products in the papyri from the early third century B.C. onward. However, Miller's theory may be classed with those of his predecessors: Herrmann believed that the Han Chinese sailed to Ethiopia, Needham placed the same voyage in the Pacific to America; others have suggested that migrants from the Indus Valley civilization sailed to Easter Island or that Indonesians settled in the Congo. The doctrine of cultural diffusion takes many strange forms. Such radical and bizarre interpretations of ancient myths and geographic legends taken out of context and flying in the face of all that we know of Indian and Chinese history as well as East African and South-east Asian archaeology may be termed by the economic historian as the modern equivalents of the Greek myths about the Hyperboreans who lived beyond the North wind: charming and amusing, perhaps, but without foundation in fact. Thus in the case of cassia and cinnamon, as with frankincense and myrrh, it is not the Indonesians who brought these from the remote East, but rather we are dealing with spices whose source is East Africa and Arabia. It is important to remember that what the Greeks called *κασία* and *κιννάμωμον* need not necessarily be the same plant as modern cassia and cinnamon¹⁸.

In the second and first centuries B.C. the references to cinnamon and cassia decrease (*P.Tebt.* I.190; 250), as do the number of papyri discovered to date. In the late second century we first begin to hear of voyages from Egypt to India. The *epistatēgoi* of the Thebiad, of whom Callimachos is the most well attested example, seem to have had among their duties responsibility for the safety of navigation in the Red Sea. Due to the lack of precision of our sources, we cannot accurately define the bodies of water subject to the control of the ἐπιστάτης τῆς θηβαϊδος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑρυθρῆς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης (e.g. *IG Philae* I.52; 53; 56; *SB* I.2264). The advent of the Romans saw some reorganization of the Eastern trade, although in Egypt the trade in and production of aromatics and perfumes remained a government monopoly as in Ptolemaic times (e.g. *SB* IV.7176; VI.9090). In the first century after Christ, as all historians of the trade agree, the sea-borne commerce with India reached its peak¹⁹. The coin finds in India, non-existent for the Ptolemaic period, are most numerous for the period from Augustus to Nero - possibly for reasons not yet fully grasped. In Egypt the inscriptions on the Coptus road to Leukos Limen, the Coptus ostraca and other inscriptions reveal the same intensity of Eastern commerce. After that, in the second, third and fourth centuries the trade decreased with the progressive weakness of the Roman Imperial economy. A number of spices were imported from India by sea: *μαλάβαθρον*, *ναρόσταχος*, *πέπερι* and *κόστος* are the most important mentioned in the *Periplus* (39; 48; 49; 56; 63). However, the papyri reveal an interesting fact. None of the spices of Indian origin appear in Ptolemaic or first century papyri. A few occur in second century papyri (*P.Strassb.* IV.222;

Stud.Pal. XX.27) but the vast majority are from papyri and ostraca of various sorts, accounts, medical recipes and tax documents, from the third and fourth centuries (e.g. *O.Tait* 2153; *P.Ant.* I.32; II.64; *B.G.U.* I.93; III.953; *P.Lips.* 102; *P.Oxy.* VI.921; XII.1429; XXXI.2570; *P.Princ.* III.155r; 155v; *P.S.I.* XII.1.1264; *P.Strassb.* II.102; *P.Tebt.* II.273). To a certain extent this may be explained by the fact that most of our papyri also come from this period. Nevertheless, it is clear from these documents that the use and diffusion of imported spices was not restricted to such commercial centres as Alexandria, Antioch and Rome but was to be found in Egyptian towns such as Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* VI.921), Tebtunis (*P.Tebt.* II.273), Antinoopolis (*P.Ant.* I.32), Heracleopolis Magna (*B.G.U.* III.953) and the Anteopolite and Lycopolite nomes (*P.S.I.* XII.1.1264) - all this long after the trade with India was thought to have passed its peak²⁰.

The historians of Rome's Eastern commerce have also considered India as the primary source of cotton materials in antiquity. Pliny's statement that cotton grew in Upper Egypt is usually interpreted to be of little importance and to refer to a type of cotton not usable in textile manufacturing²¹. Again the papyri modify the picture. In the second century cotton was grown at the Oasis of El-Changa (*P.Iand.* VIII.142) and two business letters suggest that the local product was in relatively widespread use (*SB* VI.9025; 9026). No definite references to Indian cotton goods occur in the papyri and the analysis of the excavated cotton fabrics from Egypt yields no firm result.

Neither Indian nor Chinese silk occurs in the papyri from Egypt although silk of some sort has been excavated in Egypt. There may be a reference to Coan silk, the *Coa vestis* of the Augustan poets, in *P.S.I.* III.36A and *P.Dura* 30 may refer, as the editors suggest, to a silk garment under the term *μηρίσκον[ια]*; however, this interpretation is rather unlikely²².

Thus the papyri contain numerous references to but one group of imported materials, spices. The papyrological evidence reflects, I believe, the real picture of Ptolemaic and Roman trade with India. Spices of various sorts formed the bulk of the goods imported. The exotic products which fill the pages of Warmington and his successors were with a few exceptions - notably silk - of limited economic importance and were chiefly for the consumption of a small group of wealthy merchants, bureaucrats and landowners resident in the major cities of the Empire: Rome, Alexandria and Antioch. It is from the papyri that we learn that spices from Arabia and East Africa were imported in large quantities in the Ptolemaic period but that spices from India are not available outside of the major cities until the second century of our era. For the next three centuries spices continued to be imported in large quantities from India and their use was widespread among even the lower orders of society in Roman Egypt. The frequent occurrence of these imported oriental luxury products indicates the very strong demand for these goods and also suggests that Professor Præaux was correct in refuting theories about the economic decay of Egypt under Roman rule in the second and third centuries of our era²³.

* This paper has been abbreviated to conform with the space requirements set forth by the editors. Most footnotes have been omitted.

¹ "Indien in den griechischen Papyri," *Indologica Pragensia*, I (1929), 34-57.

² H. Seyrig, "Inscription relative au commerce maritime de Palmyre,"

Mélanges Franz Cumont, Bruxelles, (1936), 397-402; idem "Inscriptions Grecques de l'Agora de Palmyre," *Syria* 22, (1941), 259-262.

³ F. Petrie in a letter discussed in W. Simpson, "The Buddhist Praying Wheel," *JRAS* (1898), 873-875; W.W. Tarn, "Ptolemy II," *JEA* 14, (1928), 251; idem *Hellenistic Civilization*, 3rd ed. N.Y., (1952), 248.

⁴ P. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford (1972), I.181; II.312.

⁵ R. Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, Oxford, (1961), 256.

⁶ P. Fraser, op.cit. I.180-181.

⁷ L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris, (1935), 70-71.

⁸ For full documentation see J. André, "Virgile et les Indiens," *REL* 27, (1949), 157-163. On the confusion in the prose authors see T.K. Joseph, "'India' a Continuation of Egypt and Ethiopia," *JIH* 26, (1948), 201-207. On the use of Ethiopian as a generic term for black see F.M. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience*, Cambridge Mass., (1970), 4-5. Also on the confusion with India see ibid 101.

⁹ *IG Philae* I.52, note on lines 4-5 p. 310.

¹⁰ S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris (1915), II.408.

¹¹ *IG Philae* I, pp. 310-311; so also F.W. Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, Oxford, (1957), I.102.

¹² On these see J.I. Miller, *The Spice Trade*, 34-97. Other Indian spices rarely occur in the papyri: *κρόμμινον* (*P.Oxy.* XII.1429; *P.Strassb.* 102); *βδέλλιον* (*P.Oxy.* XXXI.2570); *καμινον* (*P.Oxy.* XXXI.2570).

¹³ P. Fraser, op.cit., I.175 cf. A.C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*, (*ESAR* vol. II), 340.

¹⁴ In general see R.O. Steuer, *Myrrhe und Stakte*, Vienna (1933), 31-48. The most recent reconstruction based on new material is W.S. Smith, "The Land of Punt," *JARCE* 1 (1962), 59-61. On these expeditions see D.M. Dixon, "The Transplantation of Punt Incense Trees in Egypt," *JEA* 55, (1969), 55-65 and F.N. Hepper, "Arabian and African Frankincense Trees," *JEA* 55 (1969), 69-70.

¹⁵ D.M. Dixon, *JEA* 55 (1969), 60-61; 63-64; F.N. Hepper, *JEA* 55 (1969), 71.

¹⁶ *P.Hib.* II.211; *P.S.I.* V.485; VI.628; *P.CairoZen.* IV.59536; A.E. Hanson, "A Ptolemaic List of Aromata and Honey," *TAPhA* 103 (1972), 161-165.

¹⁷ J.I. Miller, *The Spice Trade*, 153-172.

¹⁸ B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, Chicago, (1919), 542-543.

¹⁹ E.H. Warmington, *Commerce*, 39-49; 78-83; M.I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, (1953), I.91; 93; M.P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, (1924), 61-62; R.E.M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London (1954), 130; J.I. Miller, *The Spice Trade*, 217-214.

²⁰ cf. J. Schwartz, "L'Empire Romain, l'Égypte et le commerce oriental," *Annales (ESC)* (1960), 20.

²¹ E.H. Warmington, *Commerce*, 210-211.

²² On the suggestion that *P.S.I.* 36A contains a reference to Coan silk see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton, (1950), II.818.

²³ G. Milne, "The Ruin of Egypt by Roman Misgovernment," *JRS* 17, (1927), 1-13 cf. C. Préaux, "La Stabilité de l'Égypte aux deux premiers siècles de notre ère," *CE* 31, (1956), 311-331.

XIV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PAPYROLOGISTS

(University College London : 29 July 1974)

THE SAQQARA PAPYRI

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|-------|---|-----------------|
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I. The Egypt Exploration Society excavations in
the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara and
the discovery of the papyri

by G. T. Martin

It is my very pleasant duty first of all to welcome the delegates of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists to University College London. The purpose of this meeting is to give the members of the Congress an idea of the discoveries of documents made over the past decade by the Egypt Exploration Society in Egypt.

The site of the discovery of the documents which will be discussed today is the desert of Saqqara, the necropolis of ancient Memphis, which latter place lies on the west bank of the Nile, some twenty miles or so south of modern Cairo. The Sacred Animal Necropolis in which they were found is the northerly extension of the great Serapeum complex, which will be familiar to all papyrologists, classical scholars and historians present, as the burial place of the Apis Bulls. The area allocated to the Egypt Exploration Society of London by the Egyptian Antiquities Department comprises part - and a very rich part it has turned out to be - of the Animal Necropolis at Saqqara, and over the past ten years we have virtually exhausted it from the archaeological point of view. However, it is certain that the Sacred Animal Necropolis extends south-westwards from our work towards the Serapeum. We read in texts of burials of rams, fragments of mummies of which we have found in our excavations, and it is possible that the installations connected with their burial lie in that area. Immediately to the west of our work, adjacent to the Serapeum-Abusir highway, there are certainly burials of bulls, their catacombs being noted in Richard Lepsius' Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. On the eastern escarpment of the necropolis, overlooking the Nile Valley and the ruins of ancient Memphis, there are catacombs of dogs, cats, and more ibises, still largely unexplored and unrecorded. In that area too, opposite the pyramid of Teti, lies the Anubieion, sometimes called the 'Greek Serapeum' or the 'Prison of Joseph', about which very little is known, except that it must have provided, amongst other things, the ceremonial approach to the Serapeum from the east. Thus, profitable future work in the Animal Necropolis seems limitless, with the possibility of future finds of papyri and ostraca relating to the animal cults, and, one would like to hope, mentioning historical events and personages, like the Archive of Hor from the Ibis Courtyard, about which you will shortly hear from Mr. Ray.

Between 1964 and 1973 the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society in the Animal Necropolis revealed the catacombs of the Ibises, the Falcons, Osiris the Baboon, and Isis, Mother of Apis, with the foundation of their chapels serving their mortuary cults.¹ In 1966-7 the late Prof. W. B. Emery uncovered a mass of papyrus fragments from a courtyard dump outside the entrance to the catacomb of the cow mothers of the Apis. Over 750 fragments have been relaxed, registered, photographed, glazed and given preliminary study. Most are in Egyptian demotic, others in hieratic Egyptian, Aramaic, and Greek. In the debris of the main Temple terrace further documents were uncovered, including demotic and Greek, together with a few Arabic fragments. Between 1971-73 I directed the excavation of an area south of the main Temple area, where in two separate rubbish dumps over 250 more papyrus fragments and complete documents were found. In the courtyard of the South Ibis Galleries over 60 ostraca in demotic and Greek were located by the late W. B. Emery in 1965-6 and by me in 1971-2. These relate to the career of a certain scribe, Hor of Sebennytos, and date from the Second century B.C. Other ostraca, not yet studied, were found over the whole site. Most of the documents belong to the Sixth-Second centuries B.C., and the majority appear to date from the Fourth, the probable date of the foundation of the main Temple complex. A few Greek, Coptic and Arabic documents belong to the Christian reoccupation of the site, from about the Fifth century A.D.

The discovery of papyrus documents and ostraca in such quantity and of such diverse character is of some importance, and these are of further interest in that they come from the northern part of the country. Not being a papyrologist or demotist, or even an authority on the classical languages, my only claim to be occupying the chair on this pleasant occasion is that I was present when most of the material came out of the ground, I excavated some of the documents myself, including the early Greek texts, and much of the Archive of Hor. Most of the papyri have at least passed through my hands as I relaxed them under field conditions so that they could be read.

The scheme for publishing these finds - enormous in quantity and of enormous interest - will emerge during the course of the discussion and in the papers, to which we shall now turn.

1. Preliminary Reports appear in J.E.A. 51, 3-9; 52, 3-8; 53, 141-145- 55, 31-35, 56, 5-11; 57, 3-13; 59, 5-15.

II. THE GREEK PAPYRI FROM SAQQARA

by E. G. Turner

Ex Africa semper aliquid novi. The Greek papyri found at Saqqara between 1967 and 1972 total 33 in number, plus ostraka - about 38-40 items altogether, according to whether you accept certain joins, and reckon separately drafts of the same letter. All except one - a piece of a Greek medical book, as yet unidentified, of iv/iii B.C. - are documentary in character. They are either of early or of late date: by 'early' I mean 4th or 3rd century B.C., by 'late' 4th to 6th century after Christ. One might well expect the 'early' finds to link with the great terrace-wall and temple of Nectanebo II, and the 'late' ones to be a deposit of the heroic Christian pioneers who destroyed that temple, smashed the demons of that place, and founded a Christian church on its site. We cannot, of course, insist that the texts were actually all written at Saqqara: a large but damaged document of the middle of the 3rd century B.C. is headed 'Totals for the Salt Tax (ἀλιχὴ) for the Cynopolite nome'. This at least was dropped by a careless visitor.

The very first items of Greek found seemed to me palaeographically to belong to the 4th century B.C. The letter-forms are robustly-made capitals, sometimes ungainly, among which a square form of E, an epigraphic form of Ω, and sometimes a four-barred Σ attract attention. In general they are what an intelligent extrapolation of Wilcken's masterly analysis (UPZ I pp.97-8) of the Berlin Timotheus roll and the Artemisia papyrus in Vienna (I 494) would predict for the 4th century. Moreover, the fact that the dated demotic and Aramaic papyri found during these years at Saqqara are also of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. lends support to this early dating. We note also that the Timotheus was found on this very same ridge, in a cemetery above Abusir; and that Wilcken has made it very probable that the Artemisia papyrus was found in the Serapeum westwards, just across the desert valley. The great city of Memphis and its organized body of Hellenomemphites might be more likely than most places in Egypt to leave traces of its Greek settlers in these centuries.

One further palaeographical feature supports this date: several of the Greek texts use as numeral system not the 'Milesian' notation (which employs the letters of the Greek alphabet plus stigma (6) and qoppa (90)), but the acrophonic notation which uses the initial letters of e.g. Χ(ίλιοι) = 1000, Η(ἑκατόν) = 100, Δ(ἑκα) = 10, Π(έντε) = 5. I know of no other Greek papyri in which this method is employed. 'Method' I call it rather than 'system', since different forms are employed for small sums and especially for fractions of a

drachma. The studies of M.N. Tod show that in Greece and the Aegean particular forms attach to particular localities. Retention of different forms in Egypt is perhaps a pointer to the origin of those who use them.

These texts will be published in a separate volume of the series devoted to the documents and monuments of Saqqara. One of them is being published in advance in JEA 60 (1974) 239ff (with plate), and a few words may be said about it here, for it can be shown to be the earliest surviving Greek documentary papyrus. Three lines of Greek have been written with a rush on a large sheet of papyrus, 36 cm. broad x 14 cm. high, in large capitals (E, Ω, Ω, Ω, K are particularly noteworthy). The text reads:

ΠΕΥΚΕΣΤΟΥ

ΜΗ ΠΑΡΑΠΟΡΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ ΜΗ

ΔΕΝΑ ΤΕΠΕΙΩΣ ΤΟ ΟΙΚΗΜΑ

Πευκέστου, as Miss A. Swiderek pointed out to me, is as likely to be the genitive of nominative Πευκέστας as of Πευκέστης (the only form in Namenbuch or Onomasticon); and just the man needed is to hand in Peukestas son of Makartatos, left behind in 331 B.C. by Alexander the Great as joint commander in chief of Egypt (Arrian 3.5.5). The text may therefore be translated '(Order of) Peukestas. No-one is to pass. The chamber is a priest's'. It is in fact a notice intended to be pinned up (no doubt many such will have been written on papyrus, but few have survived). Its full flavour might be given by the following version: 'By order of the commander-in-chief. Out of bounds to troops. Sacred area'.

III. The Aramaic Papyri

by J. B. Segal

These are not the first Aramaic papyri to have been found at Saqqara; in particular, we have already the texts published by Aime-Giron in 1931¹ and by Dupont-Sommer in 1948.² The present papyri were discovered in three areas of the site. They number 203 fragments in all, and 233 texts. Unhappily they are very seriously mutilated. As many as 130 contain only one or two or three complete words; only about 45 have more than three lines of any length. Some papyri with a longer text are in so bad a condition that the writing is scarcely decipherable. In all, about 30 texts yield a satisfactory context out of the total of 233.

This is a disappointing harvest. But palaeographers, like farmers, learn to be philosophical and to make the most of their meagre resources.

First let me remark on the dating of the papyri. They are written in a wide range of handwriting. We have the forms of letters familiar to us from Elephantine, another hand is somewhat rough or vulgar, a third is well-rounded. I have not yet carried out an exact study of the scripts. But one should be sceptical about the value of this study as a sound criterion for the dating of the texts; it may rather reflect variations of social strata or geographical or individual idiosyncracies.

Internal evidence is more helpful. If we assume that numbered years in these texts refer to regnal years, then the mention of the 37th and 38th years in one very fragmentary papyrus should lead us to Artaxerxes I - less probably to Psammetichus I or Amasis II of the Saite dynasty. In another document we have the phrase (to which I return later), 'In the 5th year of King Darius'. It may be concluded, then, that the eight dated texts in this collection were written between 657 and 418 B.C. At present I am inclined to favour the period 459-418 B.C. - from, that is, the reigns of Artaxerxes I to Darius II - and this appears to receive support from the spelling of certain words.

Let me turn to the contents. The onomastic data are of interest. My statistics are provisional, but it is clear that the great majority of personal names - about 70 - are Egyptian. Only 4 or 5 are obviously Iranian.

About 12-15 are Semitic, mostly compounds of the divine names Bethel, Nabu and Nanay. The term 'Aramaeon' occurs twice. There are several cases in which the father carries a Semitic name but the children an Egyptian name - and this may be a sign of assimilation; but I believe that there is at least one example of the exactly opposite development.

There are several allusions to the administrative area degel. Among the products that are mentioned in the texts are nitre, spelt and flour. Twice we have reference to producers of oil, seeds and cotton - both times in that order.

There is much preoccupation with slaves. Their names are either Egyptian or Semitic. We find frequently the epithet bar bayta, 'born within the household'; and where a man has this description his father's name is not given.

One text seems to be concerned with the theft of a Cretan slave named TB^{RHS} and his daughter. A search had been made and the slave had been seen walking abroad. Both father and daughter were to be produced; he could be identified because he had been marked with a tattoo sign. Another document about slaves and their release is in the form of a petition followed by a counter-petition. A small horizontal line divides one statement from the next.

Two brief and obscure papyri deal with inheritance. Others are concerned with financial matters. One evidently records the payment of interest; another sets out a list of persons from whom money had been collected, and then details the headings of the expenditure. In four papyri the subject is taxation. One reads:

2. ... the surplus of money that existed in the 6th year was ...
3. ... 2 kerashin 3 hallurin inclusive.
4. ... the money that was added to the tax of Pete³isi¹ son of ...
5. ... that was the total of the 6th year, hallurin ...
6. ... tax of the men who will be added in the 7th year ...
7. ... son of Petosiri¹ producer of oil, seed ...
8. ... four nagde of cotton whose names ...

Another group of papyri deals with legal matters. At least two are petitions. One reports a case of alleged wrongful assault - the writer had been struck six times on the soles of his feet.

Finally, we have a few papyri that have bearing on historical events. One refers to the transport of food, and it mentions an Arab or Arabs and 'the region of NBYH'. This name is interesting; it occurs also in the Bible as a gentilic proper name and there too it is associated with Ishmaelites.³ However, the word erb in this papyrus may be interpreted in a manner that has nothing to do with the ethnic term Arab.

Another text may allude to the residence of King Darius. The interpretation is uncertain; tentatively we may read:

1. ... at THMWSN/...
2. ... caused the judges to take an oath.
3. ... (NN)Y^VSZB(?) the scribe(?) that confirmed them. Thus it is written:
4. ... the 5th year of King Darius at THMWSN
5. ... he sent to G^RS^VP^T_D the Governor. Thus it is written ...

The most important document in this category is a text that extends to 17 lines, unfortunately all of them sadly mutilated. It is an official letter about Ionians and Carians in the harbour. Those who had been arrested were to be guarded, and careful watch was to be kept on the entrance by well-chosen men. The supply of food to the ships was to be withheld.

This brief summary has not touched on matters that are of concern only to specialists. There are, for example, a few problems of philology. And the papyri contain a number of obscure technical terms, mostly Iranian and some of them not found elsewhere, whose interpretation will be of interest to students of this period.

It remains for me to add that I hope to complete the initial work of editing these papyri in 1975. They may then appear in published form in 1976.

1. N. Aimé-Giron, Textes araméens d'Égypte, Cairo, 1931.
2. A. Dupont-Sommer, 'Un papyrus araméen d'époque saïte découvert à Saqqarah', Semitica i, 1948, 43-68.
3. Gen. 25:13, 28:9, 36:3, 1Chr. 1:29, Is. 60:7.

IV. The Demotic Papyri : Introduction

by H. S. Smith

The demotic papyri are diverse in character and date. They do not constitute a single archive or part of a temple library. While they certainly do comprise groups of documents concerned with the affairs of individuals, it cannot be assumed that all the documents relate to the site or the people living and working there, though some certainly do. The majority of the registered documents are relatively small fragments; few documents are complete.

Temple day-books listing income and expenditure, accounts, lists, and business documents comprise about half the total number of papyri, and are yet to be studied. Legal and administrative documents account for about a quarter of the papyri (editors: R. H. Pierce and G. R. Biggs). Letters and pleas to deities in the form of letters form only about a tenth of the material, but include many of the best preserved documents because they were found rolled (editors: H. S. Smith, W. J. Tait and G. R. Biggs). Literary texts are few; they include stories, mythological stories and didactic compositions (editors: H. S. Smith and W. J. Tait). Miscellaneous texts include fragments of dream-books, calendars of lucky and unlucky days, omina and magical compositions (editor: J. D. Ray) and a medical text (editor: G. R. Biggs). The late hieratic papyri comprise fragments of funerary books (editor: W. J. Tait).

The earliest absolutely dated document from the main temple precinct is dated to year 11 of Darius (probably Darius I), the latest to an uncertain year of Alexander (probably Alexander the Great), though palaeographical evidence suggests that a few papyri of slightly earlier or later date may be present. From the northern dumps the earliest absolutely dated document belongs to year 1 of Tachos, the latest to the reign of an unidentified Ptolemy, but here again earlier and later documents may be present. As documents dated by regnal years are very sparse and the palaeographical dating of Memphite demotic hands is very unsure, caution is very necessary; the editors' present impression is that a considerable proportion of the papyri belong to the fourth century B.C.

V. Demotic Literary Papyri and Letters

by H. S. Smith

Fragments of seven pages have been preserved of a demotic story concerning Harmakhroou, Nanufesokhme, and the prophet of Horus, Lord of Letopolis. The pages, of which there were originally at least sixteen, were numbered at the foot. The story might be termed a romance; the girl Nanufesokhme refuses to be separated from her lover, even when he has to go into hiding on the desert for several years, because of an evil which has befallen the prophet of Horus of Letopolis, to whom he is related. The prophet with all his fellow priests are ordered to be burnt alive on a brazier at the palace gate by Pharaoh, like Harsiese and his fellow-conspirators in The Instructions of 'Onkhsheshongy: but Nanufesokhme and her lover are discovered and evidently rescued by the agency of Harmakhroou. In one incident, magic may be used. Two setme-priests appear in the story: one, named Ptahhotpe, is evidently dead at the time of the action: another, unnamed, speaks as a character in the story. The text could therefore belong to the cycle of stories of Setme Khaemwese, the High Priest of Memphis, but may well not do so. The style and language is similar, though the hand must be over two centuries earlier.

A second story with numbered folios in a similar hand must originally have comprised a minimum of twelve pages. The text of the recto appears to concern a child who is doomed to die, and the efforts of its mother to rescue it, in the course of which she appeals to Isis, whose name she has apparently cursed. Various mythical creatures appear, including a winged beetle, and it is clear that magic is employed. The verso certainly continues the same tale, but here the story concerns the rescue of Pharaoh, who has been spirited away to the desert where he is held captive by the agency of various strange animals through the ill-will and probably the evil magic of the steward of his palace. Merib is however advised, probably in a dream, to mount a certain horse and to ride it without rein; the horse carries him first to the palace, whence the wicked steward follows him, and then to the desert where Pharaoh is; by the action of the animal guardians, the wicked steward is identified as the culprit and Pharaoh released. If Merib is the same as the son of Neneferkaptah in the First Story of Setme Kha'emwese, then this story may also belong to the Kha'emwese cycle: certainly, its reliance on magic to resolve the plot is reminiscent of both First and Second Kha'emwese.

Fragments of stories include an incident concerning Tjimoou and the Lord of the East, an incident retailing the making of a cat and a hawk of wax to spy upon somebody, a tale about Harudja, a fragment including a reference to the Pharaoh Chephren, and a fragment of a narrative including the Persian name Darius, which could have some relation to the story cycle of Inaros and Petubastis. None of these narratives are hitherto known to Egyptian literature. While nugatory in themselves, they emphasize that native Egyptian literature in the fourth and following centuries was much more varied and extensive than has been hitherto generally recognized.

Mythological fragments include two, possibly three, portions of a text which related a part of the cycle of the Contendings of Horus and Seth, though not that part which is preserved in the Chester Beatty Papyrus. The principle incident concerns a judgement of the sun-god, executed by Thoth, by which Lower Egypt is assigned to Horus and Upper Egypt to Seth, but when Seth is crowned he proves unacceptable to Isis, while she recognizes Horus as the rightful heir. This is to the best of my knowledge the only example of a demotic text of a literary work already known to be extant in the New Kingdom. Didactic texts are represented principally by a composition in which various birds settle on various bushes the names of which begin with the same letter of the alphabet; they then fly off to various countries or foreign places the names of which also start with the same sound. Parallel jingles for pedagogic purposes of course are known in many languages: possibly this text may give an indication of the order in which the Egyptians arranged the sounds of their alphabet.

A medical text deals with conditions of the rectum; a fragment of a dream book lists dreams involving copulation; fragments of magical recipes and a book of Lucky and Unlucky Days are also preserved.

It is not possible to give here an adequate account of the varied interest of the letters from the site. These include both incoming and outgoing correspondence, as well as letters probably belonging to Memphite officials with no direct connection with the Sacred Animal Necropolis. They include two archives. One comprises thirteen documents concerned mainly with the business affairs and income of a man named Pinhor; they give a fairly vivid picture of the delays and difficulties involved in dealing with the bureaucracy of the times,

perhaps the late fourth or third century B.C. An archive of three documents belonged to Harhotpe: incoming letters concern a building project and money affairs, while an amusing letter from Harhotpe to "his master Pediese" (who may have been his father) complains that he has not been able, as exhorted by his correspondent, to write about the temple, as he has been given no clothing-issue, and therefore presumably has not been able to enter the temple properly garbed. He ends the letter with the complaint that he is starving: the whole letter is somewhat reminiscent in tone of the letters of Hakanakhte 1600 years earlier. Another fourth century letter from an agent in the Delta reports the arrest of a man to the prophet of Osiris in Memphis, and asks, since the prisoner claims that he would be killed if returned to Memphis, for permission to release him. Other letters complain of the financial or legal troubles in which the writers are enmeshed, and ask for the aid or presence of their correspondents. An early letter concerns the delivery of lances to an army commander of the First Persian period with a foreign name. Others deal with money, loans and business transactions, while by far the largest class seem mainly to be concerned with eliciting replies assuring the writer of the health of his family. Certain letters concern the affairs of the necropolis. One requests a certain Djeho to look after the mummies of the inhabitants of the Greek quarter in Memphis which are being brought up to the necropolis. It appears to request that they be put in a "place", i.e. perhaps a communal mortuary chapel, rather than be buried, claiming that they have the authority of an oracle of the god Imhotep. Another letter appears to give the instructions of a dead man, for his burial through a letter written by a friend of his.

Pleas to deities were written in the form of letters, and range from a request that the god Osorapis should cause a woman to be anathematized before all her acquaintance, down to a request to the same deity asking advice whether to sell a female ass and its foal.

This brief sketch perhaps gives some impression of the light that these fragmentary Saqqara documents, tantalizing as they are, can throw on the social and domestic life of the Egyptian capital and its environs just before and just after the arrival of Alexander the Great in Egypt. They may be of some value for comparison with Greek sources of the Ptolemaic period.

VI. Demotic Legal Instruments and Protocols

by R. H. Pierce

Of the approximately fifty fragments among the Saqqara papyri that may with some assurance be classified as parts of legal instruments many are small indeed, and few constitute so large a part of a single text as to enable one with confidence to define the precise nature of the contracts they record. The majority appear to be scribe-and-witness instruments of the type commonly found among texts of the Ptolemaic Period, but there are a few documents that may be of a somewhat different format and that record agreements between private persons and the representatives of temple institutions. The texts record undertakings concerned with land, houses, money, and grain; one is likely to be a "self-dedication", and several may be leases.

The fragments found between 1964 and 1970 are of great importance owing to the fact that, as far as one can tell, they date to the 29th and 30th Dynasties and therefore represent Egyptian notarial practice in Memphis during the Fourth Century B.C. prior to the Greek conquest. Even in their fragmentary condition they provide welcome new information. For example, one text (SAK.H.5.D.137) makes it possible to trace the executive phrase n ḥtr lwti mn back into the reign of Nectanebo I. Had these texts survived in anywhere near a complete condition, they would have given us an invaluable glimpse into the state of contracts in the capital during a period which is very thinly documented. They are at once familiar in their phraseology and yet difficult to restore in the precise wording of their formularies - a fact that may indicate a certain difference between notarial practice under the last native rulers and that of the Ptolemaic Period.

The fragments of instruments found between 1971 and 1973 may be somewhat later in date than those found in earlier seasons (SAK.1971/2 - D.P.1 dates to a Pharaoh Alexan(der)), though there is nothing in their palaeography or contents that requires a date later than the early Ptolemaic Period. Of particular importance is SAK.1971/2 - D.P.132, which preserves on its recto and verso copies of at least seven distinct undertakings by different private individuals to one and the same temple agent to assume responsibility for parts of temple endowments for the span of one year.

The "protocols" belong to the finds made between 1961 and 1970. Some of them are explicitly dated to the reigns of Hakoris and Nectanebo I, and all seem to fall within the reigns of the last native Pharaohs. They consist of a series of concise entries, there being several on a single papyrus. They open with a date followed by a statement of the Pharaoh's presence in the Palace and then continue with an objectively styled account of the proceedings. The cases considered range from disputes about inheritance to robbery by persons unknown. What body sat in judgement does not emerge from the texts, which merely report that "they" took cognizance, said, found, decreed, etc. Notwithstanding, the facts that the texts record the presence of the king, or in one case, of his son, in the Palace and that one entry (SAK. S.H5.D.124) refers to twenty-two men (witnesses?) who were to be taken to the Palace suggest the exercise of royal jurisdiction.

Lastly, SAK. H5.D.296 preserves a recognizable fragment of a legal manual which in style and content closely resembles the so-called Code of Civil Procedure, published by Spiegelberg and elucidated by Sethe, and the Hermopolis legal text, the contents of which were first made known by Girgis Mattha.

Unfortunately most of the legal texts are as fragmentary as they are interesting, and there remains much basic philological work to be done before they will be ready for publication.

VII. The physical characteristics of the Papyri

by W. J. Tait

The study of papyrus as a writing material, and of the way in which texts are arranged upon it is necessarily concerned with a wide range of unconnected details, and needs to be kept rigorously in perspective if it is not to become a mere diversion. The aimless compilation of the precise measurements of papyri might be thought to serve no useful purpose; but information of this kind, if collected with a definite end in view, and with a full awareness of the limitations of the evidence, can prove valuable in two distinct ways: in assisting the correct restoration and reading of the texts, and in adding to our knowledge of the ancient book and scribal practice.

There is, however, a special reason why the body of papyrus material found in recent years at North Saqqara invites and demands study of the physical characteristics of the papyri. This is simply the scale of the discoveries. The number of papyrus fragments now excavated exceeds one thousand, discounting the large number of the smallest scraps, and this is a quantity sufficiently large to permit the drawing of general conclusions, especially in the case of the demotic papyri that form the greater part of the collection. Observations, however interesting, made about the physical characteristics of a single papyrus or a small group of papyri tend to lead nowhere; but in the context of a find as large as that at Saqqara there is a real hope that useful work may be done.

A second encouragement is provided by the fact that all the documentary material excavated in the last ten years is at present available for study at the site in one and the same place: small details may be examined and the entire collection reviewed in a fashion that is impossible with the papyri from many other excavations.

The nature of the actual deposits of papyrus material discovered has already been mentioned. The kind of damage that the papyri have suffered strongly supports the idea that virtually all the material has survived in rubbish dumps or accumulations of domestic rubbish.

There is no sign of any caches or archives among the papyri, with the exception of the two groups of well-preserved letters discussed earlier. Where separate fragments have been shown to belong to the same papyrus, they nearly always prove actually to join with one another, and there are only a handful of cases where scattered fragments from different parts of the same text have been identified.

The quality of the papyrus shows very much the range that is to be expected in this period. Some of the letters and the more impressive documents that are thought to come from the earliest period of the site are written upon papyrus that is exceptionally even-textured and translucent. In general the collection appears to conform to the well-known principle that the average standard of papyrus manufacture steadily declines from the New Kingdom on through the Late Period. But no exact calculations are possible. There is no sign of the marked difference between the quality of the recto and the verso sides of papyri, that is noticeable at some periods, either in the precision with which the strips of papyrus are laid down or the standard to which the surfaces are finished. The only secure means of identifying recto and verso is by the joins between sheets, when they happen to be preserved. The hieratic Egyptian papyri are generally written upon papyrus of noticeably better quality than the average. This is not uncommon, but in the present case they seem to belong to the same range of dates as the bulk of the papyri.

It is very striking how many of the demotic papyri, the literary texts as well as the documentary, are written upon rolls or pieces of papyrus from which a previous text has been washed. The signs of this vary. In some cases only very faint traces of erased writing are visible, or the surface of the papyrus has a distinctive grey tinge, which possibly extends only over a limited area. There are other extraordinary examples, where the side of a papyrus that bears a text is of a dark grey shade, that might almost be described as black. These too seem to be due to perfunctory attempts to obliterate an earlier text.

As regards measurements, there is one precise and useful fact that emerges: throughout the collection, the width of the sheets of papyrus that make up the rolls is remarkably consistent, varying between 14 and 16 cm. This is naturally of great assistance in attempting to restore texts. Just one single hieratic

text, written upon extremely good papyrus, shows a considerably wider sheet.

The demotic letters, of which over eighty are preserved, conform to two chief formats. With nearly all the letters a long strip has been cut from a roll - whether from the margins of a discarded document or from a new roll it is in practice difficult to guess. There are two ways in which a text can be arranged on such a strip. The letters that are suspected to be the earlier ones from the site are written in a few long lines along the length of the strip: in these cases they do not tend to be particularly narrow: they are sometimes cut vertically from the height of the roll, but much more commonly are cut along its length. The later letters seem always to be cut from the vertical edge of a roll, and the strips can be as narrow as 4 cm: the text of these letters is written in many short lines across the width of the piece. It would of course be rash to expect the format of the letters to provide any kind of secure dating criterion. However, the dating of the majority of the Saqqara papyri involves a number of difficult and critical questions, while the palaeography of the demotic texts is of great interest. Thus any kind of clue that might support or test dates that are suggested by other means is extremely welcome.

VIII. The archive of Ḥor

by J. D. Ray

Dr. Martin has already told this Congress the history of the discovery of the demotic ostraca which we call The Archive of Ḥor. In the winter of 1965/6 some thirty texts were found by Emery in a courtyard in the southern part of our site; a preliminary report on these discoveries appears in J.E.A. 52 (1966), 3-5. Much work was done on these ostraca by Smith from the time of their discovery; after 1968 Smith was joined by the present writer. Four Greek ostraca from the same archive were promptly edited by Skeat and Turner; this publication appeared in J.E.A. 54 (1968), 199-208. In February 1972 a further thirty demotic texts were discovered by Martin. Editorship of the entire archive was entrusted by Smith to myself, and I should like here to acknowledge his kindness. The publication is said to be in the press.

What do we know of the central character of this archive, the scribe Ḥor? He was born, perhaps about 200 B.C., possibly later, in the small town of Pi-Thoth in the nome of Sebennytos (central Delta). He was apparently trained as a priest in the nearby Temenesi, the Ἱεῖος πόλις of the Greek texts. There he learnt Middle Egyptian, the language of the sacred texts (well), and Greek (badly), eventually becoming a pastophoros of the goddess Isis.

In the year 170, war broke out between the Ptolemaic kingdom and the Seleucid Empire under Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Ḥor seems to have served with the army in some capacity, but we hear nothing of him until the year of peril, 168. In this year Ḥor records a dream which he had seen of Isis, accompanied by the god Thoth, walking upon the Syrian sea. The goddess announces that 'Alexandria is secure against the enemy'. He interprets this to mean the release of the city from its fear and, more strangely, the birth of a son to Pharaoh. He reports his experience to the important general *Eirenaios, who is at first sceptical with true Greek rationalism, but who declares himself convinced when Antiochus, under pressure from Rome, retreats from Egypt. Ḥor later recalls these events in a message to Pharaoh (Text 2 of the archive):

'The dream which was told to me of the salvation of Alexandria and the retreat of Antiochus, namely that he would leave Egypt by sail in Year 2, Paoni, final day (the date corresponds to 30 July, 168); I reported this to *Eirenaios in Year 2, Paoni, day 11 (11 July, 168), when *Cleon the agent of Antiochus had not yet left Memphis. But the truth was revealed immediately: *Eirenaios spoke no more of this, but sent a letter. I gave this letter to the Pharaohs (Ptolemy VI Philometor, his brother, the later Ptolemy VIII, and possibly their sister Cleopatra, wife to Philometor) in Year 2, Epeiph, final day (29 August, 168) in the Great Serapeum which is in Alexandria I read out the salvation of Alexandria and of every man who was within it There came about the counsel of Isis, the great goddess, and of Thoth, the three times great'.

Names of generals in the Ptolemaic army, unknown from other sources; the journey of the envoy Noumenios to Rome, as recorded by Polybius and Livy; and strong evidence indeed that Antiochus declared himself king of Egypt, are all contained in these demotic ostraca.

After the war with Antiochus Ḥor journeyed south to Memphis, where he found employment as a scribe or secretary in the ibis cult of North Saqqara. Some eleven texts record his dreams from this period and later, some even with interpretations. In one, he dreams that he is on a labour-gang and is befriended by the overseer, who turns out to be the god Thoth. In a second dream, he is questioned by a ghost (?) and asked where he has put the food for sixty thousand sacred ibises; he replies that he has left it at home. In another text, a god (?) tells him that the whole land will be destroyed, except for one place which Ḥor must name; he chooses his home town, Pi-Thoth.

A third large group of texts records meetings of the council of the ibis-shrine; a wealth of detail about the administration and finances of the cult, together with its governing body of twenty-five priests and the reform of the shrine after years of neglect, is preserved for us. It seems that Ḥor of Sebennytos finally lost his job, and wrote his story on ostraca as drafts for a petition to Pharaoh; a disaster for him, but for us a blessing, and a hint not to despise these texts as ostraca, for they are would-be papyri.

What finally is the importance of our archive? Firstly, it is not merely historical, in spite of the references to Antiochus Epiphanes, nor psychological, with the accounts of dreams, nor even valuable for the details of the cult administration; the true importance is that beneath all these accounts there lies one personality, an individual, and we can begin to know where he exaggerates, why he omits some things rather than others, even where he twists the truth to suit his own obsessions. Secondly, one of our ostraca mentions a pair of twins; perhaps the *δίδυμαί* of Wileken? Finally, our archive serves to deepen our knowledge of Ptolemaic Egypt. One scholar, P. M. Fraser, characterises the Egyptians of Alexandria as 'an almost anthropophagous mob'; another, Mlle. Préaux in the new Legacy of Egypt denies that the native element in Hellenistic Egypt added anything of value to its civilisation. With respect to these two authorities, I cannot agree. Behind the Greek papyri there lies a palimpsest: the hand and spirit of the Pharaohs.

In the fourth century B.C. astronomy severed its relations with physics and began to develop a partnership with mathematics and theology. Eudoxus and Plato in one generation, followed by Callippus and Aristotle in the next, undertook to save the phenomena by reducing the apparently irregular motions of sun, moon and planets to complex combinations of regular circular motions around the earth.

Epicurus wrote at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third. While holding that terrestrial physics could arrive at certain knowledge, he sounded like a thoroughgoing Sceptic when he came to attack what he regarded as the slavish dogmatism of the astronomers. For any celestial phenomenon, he argued, a whole range of physical explanations was available, and there was no reliable criterion for choosing between them. It was enough to grasp that such phenomena could be explained in physical terms, and thus to obviate the need to attribute them to divine agency. This is the overriding theme of Epicurus' summary of astronomical doctrine in his Letter to Pythocles. The full account had been given in Books XI and XII of his major work the Peri Physeōs; and by good fortune the Herculaneum library has supplied us with two parallel texts of Book XI. One section, consisting of five partially preserved columns,⁽¹⁾ contains a polemic against astronomers who build mechanical models depicting the motions of the sun and moon around the earth. These orreries (organa) almost certainly embodied the "concentric spheres" theory of planetary motion devised by Eudoxus and elaborated by his successors. Epicurus derides such attempts to veil the irregularities of these orbits. He stresses the extreme subjectivity of our observations of celestial phenomena, and the mistake of representing them as objectively valid.

In this paper I shall discuss some points which have been overlooked or misunderstood in the first column of the argument. The text was edited by Vogliano in 1941, but with several misreadings. I have re-read the papyrus, in the British Museum (B.M. Pap.1521 = PHerc.1042), and I set out the text here in what I believe to be the most satisfactory way for a Herculaneum papyrus. Since the buckled surface of the papyrus and the overlapping of layers prevent adequate photography, I give a diplomatic transcript of the papyrus in its present condition; each uncertain trace is signalled by a dot, and so far as possible the letters which it might represent are listed in a papyrological commentary. Together with this are the apographs of the papyrus, made in the nineteenth century when its condition was better. In this particular case we have a single pencilled apograph, made in 1802, plus the contemporary engraving of it, which seems to have benefited from some corrections made directly from the papyrus. Finally, there is the "edited" text, which supplements the letters still preserved in the papyrus from those in the apographs.

1 ΑΝΑΤΕΛΩΝΑΝΑΤΕΙ
 ΝΟΝΤΕΣΕΙΣΤΟΜΕΡΟΣΤΗΣ
 ΠΑΣΠΟΠΗ ΣΟΥΜΕΤΕ
 5 ΒΗΜΕΝΕΚΤΟΥΤΟΥΗ
 ΜΙΝΔΥΜΕΝΟΣΦΑΙ
 ΝΕΤΑΙΟΥΔΕΠΟΛΛΗΝ
 ΕΝΙΟΤΕΠΑΝΥΓΗΝΜΕ
 ΤΟΥΤΟΚΕΤΙΝΑΥΤΟΥΣ
 10 ΠΛΑΓΙΑΜΟΥΣΑΤ
 ΘΑΙΤΓΑΡΤΗΝΗ
 ΕΚΕΤΑΣΤΑΘΜ
 ΙΝΕΤΗΕΝΘΕΝΔΕ
 15 ΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΘΜΙΝΗ
 ΤΗΝΕΝΘΕΝΔΕ Τ
 ΝΔΕΙ
 20 ΚΑΤΑΤ
 ΤΩΝΑΝΑΕΛΩΝ
 ΥΘΕΩΩ
 ΨΝΒΑΙΝΟ
 ΕΙΚΟΤΩΟΙΜΕ

ΑΝΑΤΕΛΩΝΑΝΑΤΕΙ
 ΝΟΝΤΕΣΕΙΣΤΟΜΕΡΟΣΤΗΣ
 ΠΑΣΠΟΠΗ ΣΟΥΜΕΤΕ
 ΒΗΜΕΝΕΚΤΟΥΤΟΥΗ
 ΜΙΝΔΥΜΕΝΟΣΦΑΙ
 ΝΕΤΑΙΟΥΔΕΠΟΛΛΗΝ
 ΕΝΙΟΤΕΠΑΝΥΓΗΝΜΕ
 ΕΒΗΚΟΣΙΝ Α
 ΤΟΥΤΟΚΕΤΙΝΑΥΤΟΥΣ
 ΠΛΑΓΙΑΜΟΥΣΑΤ
 ΘΑΙΤΓΑΡΤΗΝΗ
 ΕΚΕΤΑΣΤΑΘΜ
 ΙΝΕΤΗΕΝΘΕΝΔΕ
 ΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΘΜΙΝΗ
 ΤΗΝΕΝΘΕΝΔΕ Τ
 ΝΔΕΙ
 ΚΑΤΑΤ
 ΤΩΝΑΝΑΕΛΩΝ
 ΥΘΕΩΩ
 ΨΝΒΑΙΝΟ
 ΕΙΚΟΤΩΟΙΜΕ

Papyrus
 1 ανατελωνανατει
 νοντεσειστομεροστησ
 πασησησουμετε
 βημενεκτουτο η
 5 μινδυμενοσφαι
 νεταιουδεπολλην
 ενιοτεπανυγημε
 ±3]εβηκοσινα[1-2].
 τουοκετιναυτ[.]υσ
 10 πλαγιαμουσα[.]τι

2-3] θαιτ[.]γαρτηεν
 ±4]ε[0-1]κ[.]τασταθμ.
 ±1]ιν[.]τη ενθενδε
 ±1]ατασταθμησινη
 15 τηενθενδεη ν
 ±2]ε[.]ο.ινδειπι[2-3
 ±3]ηκατατ[2-4
 ±4]ωνανα[.]λω.
 ±5]ωγ ωστε[±2
 20 ±5]υμβαينو[±4
 3-4]κ.τω.οιμ[±5

Papyrological commentary. (1) α/λ (4) γ/ζ/ξ/τ/υ/χ/ψ (5) ε/θ/ο/σ
 (8) ι/ρ/τ/υ/φ/ψ (9) *1: τ/υ *2: ε/θ/ο/σ (10) ε/σ (11) γ/ε/ζ/μ/ξ/σ/τ/υ/ψ
 (12) η/ν (13) η/μ/ν/π (15) η/π (16) *1: β/δ/ε/θ/ο/ρ/σ *2: υ/χ/ι/ε/ι/σ
 (17) *1: α/λ *2: ε/θ/ο/σ (18) *1: θ/ο *2: η/ν (21) *1: θ/ο *2: ε/σ

[The sun, if we walk towards the place from which it appeared to us] to rise, directing our course upwards into the region of total land, appears to us to set at the place from which we have come, sometimes even when we have moved in all only a short distance. And this time we cannot blame it on the lateral deviations. Why, after all, should you make the measurement from here, or the measurement from here, or the one from here, or this one, a more reliable measurement of risings or settings? Therefore [.....]

1 ανατέλλων, ἀνατεί-
 νοντες εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς
 πάσης γῆς, οὐ μετέ-
 βημεν ἐκ τούτου ἡ-
 5 μιν δυόμενος φαί-
 νεται, οὐδὲ πολλὴν
 ἐνίστε πάνυ γῆν με-
 ταβ]εβηκόσιν· κα[ι] α]ύ-
 τοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτ[ο]ύς
 10 πλαγιασμούς α[ι]τι-
 άσα]σθαι. τ[ι] γὰρ τὴν ἐν-
 θένδ]ε κ[α]ταστάθμη-
 σιν [ἢ] τὴν ἐνθένδε
 καταστάθμησιν ἢ
 15 τὴν ἐνθένδε ἢ τὴν-
 δε]σε [π]οιεῖν δεῖ πισ[το-
 τέρ]αν καταστάθ[μη-
 σιν] τῶν ἀνα[τ]ολῶν
 ἢ δ]ύσεω; ὥστε [..
 20 ...] ἔσ' υμβαينو[....
 ..] εἰκότως οἴμ[αι ..

10-11) α[ι]τιάσασθαι Vo. 11) τ[ι] Hayter
 13-14) [ἢ] - καταστάθμησιν secl. Vo. 19) ἢ Vo.

Epicurus here attacks the assumption that objectively valid measurements of celestial orbits can be taken from a terrestrial viewpoint. Lines 1-8 describe an optical illusion produced by the sun. (That their subject is the sun is certain from a reference to this argument three columns later, I VI 14-19.) If you travel eastwards the sun can give the illusion of setting at the place from which you started.

It is essential to the argument that the direction in which the observer moves should be eastwards. The main curiosity of the sentence is the application to this eastward movement of the phrase "into the meros of total land". This would be a quite inappropriate description of a walk across the Attic peninsula to the east of Athens. Its most natural reference is to Asia, conceived as a tract

of land with no sea beyond it. Herodotus (IV 40) had reported that beyond India Asia was uninhabited, and that nothing more was known about it. Since then, Alexander's campaigns had opened up vast new areas of Asia to the Greeks, and Aristotle's pupil Dicaearchus had drawn up a revised map of the world. Yet even his knowledge stopped, it would seem, at the Himalayas (FGH II 251). He may, like Aristotle (cf. Meteorol. 350a 22), have assumed the existence of a surrounding ocean, but he certainly did not assign to Asia a precise easternmost limit. Given this state of knowledge, Epicurus might well call Asia the meros of total (or continuous) land.

Some difficulty has been caused by ἀνατείνοντες (line 1). No attested meaning is appropriate, but I take it to be synonymous with Xenophon's phrase τείνειν ἄνω, "to head uphill" (An. 4.3.21). τείνω like its Latin counterpart tendo, combines the transitive sense "stretch" with the intransitive "aim", "direct one's course".⁽²⁾ Given an Asian context, the prefix ἀνα- probably carries the additional connotation of "up inland into Central Asia", as in Xenophon's Anabasis.

Since the process of walking eastwards is described in terms appropriate not to Athens but to Asia, it is hard to escape the interesting conclusion that Epicurus was on the coast of Asia Minor when he wrote this book. Before setting up his school at Athens in 306 B.C. he had lived and taught first at Mytilene and then at Lampsacus. Mytilene is of course not on the mainland; but Lampsacus lies on the Asian shores of the Hellespont and, in Walter Leaf's description,⁽³⁾ "is pleasantly placed at the foot of gentle slopes which run eastwards." Lampsacus, then, must surely be the venue for this experiment.

However, it is improbable that Epicurus wrote Book XI while resident at Lampsacus between 310 and 306. We know that he reached Book XV in 300/299, and that in the following four years he got through another thirteen books of the same work. It would therefore be a somewhat drastic solution to suppose that it took him seven or more years to get from Book XI to Book XV. Nor is this supposition necessary, since we know that while settled at Athens he made two or three return visits to Mytilene and Lampsacus, to maintain contacts with the still thriving Epicurean circles in those towns. A shipwreck which he suffered during one of these voyages to Lampsacus is graphically described in a recently discovered fragment of the inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda.⁽⁴⁾ So close was Epicurus' association with Lampsacus that Strabo (13.1.19) describes him as τρόπον τινα Λαμφακηνός.

The probability that Epicurus wrote this book on astronomy during a visit to Lampsacus has an interesting consequence of its own. Not far from Lampsacus is the city of Cyzicus. And Epicurus, we learn from Diogenes Laertius (X 8), was hostile to some people called the Cyzicenes, whom he labelled "enemies of Greece". Bignone⁽⁵⁾ was the first scholar to see that the word Κυζικηνούς here, far from requiring emendation, was a reference to the followers of Eudoxus at Cyzicus.

The clue came from a papyrus fragment of Philodemus On Epicurus Book II,⁽⁶⁾ which seemed to record a letter of Epicurus to the Epicurean circle at Lampsacus. It is described as "περὶ Κυζικηνοῦ τινος ἀστρολογου[ε] ἀμέτρον", "concerning a certain mathematical astronomer of Cyzicus". Now Eudoxus, although himself a citizen of Cnidos, taught for a period at Cyzicus, and produced there such distinguished pupils as Helicon and Polemarchus. Polemarchus in turn became the teacher of the celebrated mathematical astronomer Callippus of Cyzicus, who is known to have worked for a time in the Hellespont area (Ptolemy Phas. 93d), even though he later moved to Athens to work with Aristotle. All this points to an established Eudoxan school at Cyzicus, which could well have survived into the third century B.C.. Some further fragmentary evidence from Herculaneum papyri also hints at contacts between the Epicureans of Lampsacus and the Eudoxans of Cyzicus.⁽⁷⁾ There is even a strong, and intriguing, possibility that Epicurus' own pupil Polyaeus of Lampsacus had originally been an adherent of the Cyzicene school.⁽⁸⁾

The followers of Eudoxus are placed by Plutarch (Vit. Marc. 14) among the first exponents of organikē - the construction of mechanisms to illustrate mathematical proofs. Small wonder then that they, in their school at Cyzicus, should have provoked their Epicurean neighbours at Lampsacus with the mechanical organa by which they illustrated their mathematical laws for the orbits of sun, moon and planets.

To return now to the text, the argument about the impossibility of calculating where the sun sets is capped in lines 8-11 by the remark "And this time it cannot be blamed on the plagiasmoi". The implication is that some other irregularity previously discussed was attributed by the opponents to these plagiasmoi. To learn more about this mysterious term we must turn to Simplicius' account (In De caelo p. 493, 11ff.) of the three concentric spheres by which Eudoxus explained the sun's movements. The outer sphere was that of the fixed stars, rotating from east to west in twenty-four hours. Inside this was the second sphere, carrying the sun backwards through the zodiac. It is this ἐναντία κίνησις which we find Epicurus deriding four columns later. The third sphere was introduced to account for entirely imaginary deviations of the sun to north and south of the ecliptic. The sun is described as "deviating to the sides" - παρεκτρέπομενος εἰς τὰ πλάγια - and it must be to these deviations εἰς τὰ πλάγια that Epicurus is referring when he speaks of the πλαγιασμοί. They may, he says, use this third sphere to explain away north-south deviations in the sun's course, but they can never use it to explain east-west variations in its observed position at sunset.

The next sentence (lines 11-19) explains the significance of this irregularity: there is no single "correct" vantage point from which to measure celestial phenomena. The illusion described here is of course easily explained by the curvature of the earth. But for Epic-

urus, who believed in a flat earth, the solution was the one which we know from a scholion (Ep.Pyth.91) he propounded in this very same book: that the sun and other heavenly bodies are about as small as they appear to be, but are peculiarly exempt from the rules of perspective so as to appear the same size at any distance.⁽⁴⁾

The extraordinary repetitiveness of this final sentence leads me to end this paper by asking a question about the style of the Peri Physeos. Although Epicurus' Greek is often idiosyncratic, his other surviving works, and especially the Letter to Menoecus, show a clear attempt at some sort of literary style. By contrast, the surviving fragments of the Peri Physeos are utterly devoid of literary artifice, and the style is best described as colloquial. I cannot see why Epicurus would have repeated himself so painstakingly in a written work; on the other hand, it would be natural enough in an extemporised lecture where each "ἐνθ' ἐνδοε" was accompanied by some gesture. Epicurus himself elsewhere calls the Peri Physeos an akroasis,⁽¹⁰⁾ and I wonder whether some sort of tachygraphic system might not already have been available at this date, by which a scribe could take down a lecture during its delivery, just as Arrian was later to record the lectures of Epictetus.

There is, of course, Diogenes Laertius' story (II 48) that Xenophon wrote his Memorabilia by noting down the words of Socrates. The verb used here, ὑποσημειοῦσθαι, has often been taken to refer to a system of tachygraphy. But in reply it has been correctly pointed out that, even supposing that this is what Diogenes means us to understand, it is refuted by Xenophon's own statement in the Memorabilia (1.3.1) that he is writing from memory. And recent work on this question, especially that of Boge,⁽¹¹⁾ is highly sceptical about the existence of a Greek system of tachygraphy before the second century A.D.. Nevertheless I wonder how, in the absence of shorthand, the colloquial style of Epicurus' Peri Physeos should be explained.

NOTES

1) A.Vogliano, I resti dell' XI libro del Peri φύσεως di Epicuro (Le Caire 1940), pp.36-43, I III 1 - [L] b III 12 = G.Arrighetti, Epicuro, Opere (second edition, Torino 1973), [26] 37.1 - 41.21. I have consulted the commentaries of Vogliano and Arrighetti; also C.M.Rosini in VH¹ II (1809), and A.Barigazzi, Prolegomena II (1952) 61ff.

2) LSJ, s.v. τείνω B II, read the sense "hasten" into instances of this intransitive use, wrongly in my view.

3) W.Leaf, Strabo on the Troad (Cambridge 1923) p.93.

4) D.Clay, Sailing to Lampsacus, GRBS 14 (1973) 49-59.

5) E.Bignone, L'Aristotele perduto e la formazione filosofica di Epicuro (Firenze 1936), II 76ff.

6) PHerc.1289, fr.6 col.III, Vogliano, Epicuri et Epicureorum scripta (Berlin 1928), p.60 = Arrighetti [166], p.523.

7) See L.Spina, Cronache Ercolanesi 1 (1971), 69-72.

8) For Polyaenus' mathematical background, see Cicero Acad. Pr.II 106, Fin.I 20. The only specific evidence for a connexion with Cyzicus is the fact that he had a Cyzicene mistress (Plutarch Contra Ep.beat.1098b).

9) Ep.Pyth.91: τὸ δὲ μέγεθος ἡλίου τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄστρον κατὰ μὲν τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τηλικούτων ἐστὶν ἡλίκον φαίνεται. [Scholion: τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ τᾷ Περι φύσεως· "εἰ γὰρ", φησί, "τὸ μέγεθος διὰ τὸ διάστημα ἀποβεβλήκει, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἂν τὴν χροᾶν".] ἄλλο γὰρ τούτῳ συμμετρότερον διάστημα οὐθέν ἐστι.

The final phrase here has so baffled editors of this text (von der Muehl's Teubner edition is an exception) that they have attached it to the scholion rather than let it stand in Epicurus' text. What they have missed is the technical expression σύμμετρον διάστημα (or ἀπόστημα), a "proportionate distance", hence a "correct distance" for viewing an object accurately (Sextus Empiricus Math.VII 188, cf.183; 438; Aristotle MM II 1213b 7-10; cf. Sophocles OT 84). Our papyrus passage shows Epicurus' point to be that the apparent size of the setting sun, unlike that of such normal terrestrial objects as mountains, is always the same however far eastwards or westwards you travel. Hence "No different distance gives a better vantage point for it".

10) Peri Physeos XXVIII, 13 XIII 7-8 sup.; see my edition, Cronache Ercolanesi 3 (1973) p.56.

11) H.Boge, Griechische Tachygraphie und Tironische Noten (Berlin 1973), 17 ff.

RICHARD SEIDER: Zur Paläographie der frühen lateinischen Papyri

Nach einer kleinen Auswahl von frühen lateinischen Schriftdenkmälern möchte ich einige Beobachtungen zur lateinischen Urkundenschrift und Buchschrift (Geschäftsschrift und Schönschrift) mitteilen:

Fünf Ostraka aus dem alten Bergwerksplatz el-Fawâchir überliefern uns briefliche Nachrichten eines Rustius Barbarus an seinen Bruder Pompeius (Abb. 1). Die Scherben wurden in der Zeit des ausgehenden 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. beschrieben. Sie zeigen eine Schrift, welche auch der Schrift des Papyrus lb der Wiener Sammlung, eines Briefes an einen Macedo, gleicht (Abb. 2). Dieser Brief an Macedo wurde um 20 v. Chr. geschrieben. Die Schrift der Ostraka und des Papyrus ist wiederum ganz der scriptura actuaria auf Erz der ausgehenden republikanischen Zeit ähnlich, eine Beobachtung, die für Rekonstruktionsversuche der lateinischen Schreibrift einer weiter zurückliegenden Zeit vielleicht Schlüsse zuläßt. Mit einer abgeschrägten Binse wurde auf Ton und Papyrus ein ähnliches Schriftbild bewirkt, wie es mit dem Griffel oder Stichel auf einer Erzplatte eingegraben werden konnte. Das Fragment der lex Mamilia (?) aus Falerione¹ zeigt diese Schrift auf Erz, die in die Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zu datieren ist (55 v. Chr. ?). Die Schrift der Ostraka aus el-Fawâchir und des Wiener Papyrus lb - der Berliner Papyrus 13956, der Brief des Phileros an seine Mitsklaven, gehört zu diesen frühen Schriftdenkmälern - wird man sich als Urkundenschrift und als Buchschrift der ausgehenden republikanischen Zeit vorstellen müssen. Ausgebildete Schriftformen nach römischem Stilgesetz, die uns der Wiener Macedobrief la (Abb. 3), der Gießener Verrespapyrus (Abb. 4) und die lateinischen Papyri aus Herculaneum (Abb. 5) zeigen, sind bei den oben genannten Schriftdenkmälern noch nicht erreicht. Römische Formen sind erst in den Anfängen erkennbar. Ein wesentliches Merkmal des lateinischen Schriftbildes, das Streben nach Dreiteilung und Symmetrie, wird in dieser Phase lateinischer Schriftentwicklung allein durch die interpunctio deutlich. Die Worttrennung durch Punkte wird bei den lateinischen Papyri mit Beginn des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. selten. Sie fehlt ganz bei den Papyrus-Militärurkunden. In der lateinischen Epigraphik lebt sie aber bis in die späten Jahrhunderte der Römerzeit fort. Dem Griechischen ist die interpunctio immer fremd geblieben.

Am Beispiel des datierten Wiener Macedobriefes la, des Gießener Verrespapyrus und der lateinischen Fragmente aus Herculaneum möchte ich versuchen, die Entwicklung der lateinischen Urkundenschrift und Buchschrift kurz aufzuzeigen. Dabei wird sich als nützlich erweisen, Grundformen des Schriftbildes dieser frühen Papyri und Stilelemente gleichzeitiger römischer Malerei

zu betrachten und miteinander in Beziehung zu setzen. Bald nach der Umwandlung der Stadt Pompeji in eine römische Kolonie, erreichte die pompejanische Malerei eine erstaunliche Blüte. In augusteischer und julisch-claudischer Zeit werden dort in rascher Folge gültige Formen römischer Kunst gefunden, deren Entwicklung sich auch in den Stilformen lateinischer Schrift erkennen läßt.

Zum Wiener Macedobrief 1a (Abb. 3): Der Papyrus der Wiener Sammlung 1a, ebenfalls ein Brief an den schon genannten Macedo aus den Jahren 17 - 14 v. Chr. - bei Annahme eines Schaltjahres 21 - 18 v. Chr. - zeigt eine Schrift, die nur mit gespaltener Schreibrohr möglich ist. Charakteristisch für diese Schrift ist die Verlängerung der leicht auszuführenden Federstriche von oben links nach unten rechts weit über die Ober- und Unterlinie des Schriftkörpers der Zeilen hinaus. Die Oberlängen sind in der Frühzeit dieses Stils stark ausgebildet und in strenger Geraden gezogen. Die Unterlängen sind Auslauflinien der Buchstaben z.B. von Q, R, I und lassen daher diesen strengen Charakter vermissen. Das Wechselspiel von Haar- und Schattenstrichen oder Druckstrichen, die Ausbildung von sehr starken Ober- und Unterlängen ist jedenfalls auffallendes Kennzeichen dieses Schriftstils, für den sich kein epigraphisches Zeugnis finden läßt, ein lateinischer Schriftstil, der sich auch nicht an ein Vorbild etwa griechischer Schreibschrift anlehnen kann. Diese Form lateinischer Schrift war nicht auf den Fundort der Papyri, auf Ägypten, beschränkt. Beispiele dieses Schriftstils finden sich auch auf pompejanischen Wänden. Wir haben es mit einer originalen römischen Schöpfung frühaugusteischer Zeit zu tun.

Um 80 v. Chr. wurde Pompeji römische Kolonie. Der römische Einfluß wird jetzt überall spürbar, besonders auffallend in der Malerei und der Schrift. Die bemalte griechisch-hellenistische Quaderwand des 1. Stils² - die Quader sind in Pompeji in Stuck ausgeführt oder werden durch Malerei ersetzt - erfährt mit Beginn des 2. Stils pompejanischer Malerei eine Umprägung in römische Formen. Die römische Wand erscheint in horizontaler und vertikaler Dreiteilung. Die Bildmitte ist stark betont. Die Verteilung von Licht und Schatten verleiht der Bildwand einen malerischen Ausdruck³. Mit der Dreiteilung des Schriftbildes der Zeile, einer betonten Mitte, einer oberen und unteren Schriftbildzone, zeigt der Wiener Papyrus 1a ganz die wesentlichen Formen der 2. Phase des 2. Stils römischer Malerei frühaugusteischer Zeit. Die Dreiteilung bleibt künftig Stilform römischer Malerei und lateinischer Schrift, der Urkundenschrift und der Buchschrift. Auch die Formen der Malerei des 3. Stils lassen sich im Schriftbild gleichzeitiger pompejanischer Wandinschriften wiederfinden. Mit phantastischen zierlichen Aufbauten erhält die obere Bildwand des 3. pompejanischen Stils ein besonders auffallendes Aussehen. Das Malerische der oberen

Zone der Wandmalerei des 2. Stils ist einem stark zeichnerischen Stil gewichen⁴. Pompejanische Wandinschriften haben diese Stilentwicklung mitgemacht. Den unwirklichen Aufbauten der oberen Bildzone pompejanischer Wände des 3. Stils entsprechen die zierlichen und phantastischen Oberlängen der Wandinschriften gleicher Zeit⁵. In ihrer Substanzlosigkeit stehen diese Oberlängen in starkem Gegensatz zur festgefügtten Zeilenmitte. Die römische Dreiteilung des Wandbildes und die Dreiteilung des Schriftbildes der Zeile, die Symmetrie, bleibt erhalten. Dieses Verlangen nach Symmetrie, nach vertikaler und horizontaler Dreiteilung mag das pompejanische Bild "Pan und Nymphen" aus spätaugusteischer Zeit veranschaulichen⁶: "Das griechische Vorbild des Gemäldes ... enthielt, wie Diepolder gezeigt hat, nur den still in sich ruhenden Zauber eines musikalischen Wettstreites zwischen dem die Syrinx spielenden Pan und der zur Kithara singenden Muse. Der römische Maler fügte die steifere Mädchengruppe links hinzu; um wieder die klassizistische Dreiteilung zu erhalten, die noch durch die Kulissen des Hintergrundes verdeutlicht wird"⁷. Die Symmetrie des gemalten und des geschriebenen Bildes entspricht römischem Formgefühl. In einer Zweilinienschrift (mit der Tendenz Unterlängen zu bilden) entwickelt sich im wesentlichen das griechische Schriftbild. Die Vierlinienschrift ist eine römische Schöpfung. Das Stilgesetz der Dreiteilung des Schriftbildes (Oberlängen, Zeilenkörper, Unterlängen), das in der Frühzeit lateinischer Schrift noch durch die interpunctio verstärkt wurde, ist der lateinischen Urkundenschrift immer eigentümlich geblieben, wenn auch in manchen Phasen ihrer Entwicklung veränderte Formen sichtbar werden. Der Stil der Urkundenschrift des Wiener Macedobriefes 1a ist in der Schrift des ältesten lateinischen, literarischen Papyrus noch lebendig.

Zum Gießener Verrespapyrus (P. Jandana 90, Abb. 4):

Die Schriftanalyse der ältesten Handschrift lateinischer Literatur, des berühmten Gießener Verresfragments, macht deutlich, daß dieses Fragment nicht mehr in die frühaugusteische Zeit mit ihren strengen Formen, in die Zeit des Wiener Macedobriefes 1a, gehört. Zu den Druck- und Schattenstrichen, die von oben links nach unten rechts ausgerichtet sind, kommen noch die Zierstriche, die nach oben rechts weisen. Die sich kreuzenden Druck- und Zierstriche dieses Schriftstils kündigen bereits eine Eigentümlichkeit des 4. Stils pompejanischer Malerei flavischer Zeit an: "Das System sich kreuzender Tiefenachsen"⁸. Wenn diese Stilformen der Malerei eine Hilfe zur Datierung von Handschriften desselben Stils sein können, dann wird man die Schrift des Gießener Verrespapyrus in spätaugusteische Zeit datieren müssen. Weit ausladende Ober- und Unterlängen dieses Papyrus und ebenso die überlangen Zierstriche der Buchstaben, besonders beim E und F, die über eine oder gar zwei Zeilen hinweggezogen sind, machen eine enge Zeilenführung unmöglich. Es ist einleuchtend, daß sich eine Schrift mit solchen übergreifenden Formen als

Buchschrift nicht durchsetzen konnte. Dieser Stil mußte seine übermäßigen Formen verlieren und in ein ausgewogenes Verhältnis gebracht, zu einer gezügelten Zweilinienschrift zurückgeführt werden, um praktische, brauchbare lateinische Buchschrift werden zu können. Die literarischen lateinischen Papyri aus Herculaneum sind die frühesten Zeugen dieser lateinischen Buchschrift der sog. Capitalis rustica.

Zu den lateinischen Papyri aus Herculaneum (Abb. 5):

Die Dreiteilung des Schriftbildes des Verrespapyrus kam durch Oberlängen, Zeilenkörper und Unterlängen zum Ausdruck. Die Schrift des Verrespapyrus ist eine sehr ausladende lateinische Vierlinienschrift, die sich als Buchschrift kaum eignet. Erst mit der Capitalis rustica gelang die Schöpfung einer lateinischen Buchschrift, die auch als Zweilinienschrift römisches Stilgesetz der Dreiteilung, der Symmetrie, berücksichtigt. Die literarischen lateinischen Papyri aus Herculaneum und zahlreiche pompejanische Dipinti sind die frühesten Zeugen dieser lateinischen Buchschrift. Zierstriche, die sich beim Verrespapyrus mit den Oberlängen kreuzen, sind bei der Capitalis rustica ganz verschwunden. Auf die Ausbildung eines festen Zeilenkörpers zwischen zwei gedachten Linien wird besonderer Wert gelegt. Hat der Zeilenabstand beim Verresfragment noch etwa 1 cm betragen, so schwankt der Zeilenabstand bei den lateinischen Fragmenten aus Herculaneum zwischen 0,2 und 0,4 cm. Die Oberlängen der schrägen Druckstriche der Capitalis rustica ragen nur noch wenig über die Oberlinie der Zeilen hinaus oder bleiben innerhalb der Zeilenhöhe dadurch erhalten, daß die Haarstriche der Buchstaben A, M und N z.B. wesentlich verkürzt werden. Die senkrechten Hasten finden an der oberen Zeilenlinie durch kräftige Querbalken ihren Abschluß. An die Stelle der Unterlängen tritt bei der Capitalis rustica ein Buchstabensockel. Der Schriftkörper der Zeile erhält - wenn ich mich so ausdrücken darf - Sockel und Gesims, ein Stil, den die griechische Schrift nicht kennt. Der Häkchenstil griechischer Buchschrift, der bereits im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. einsetzt, ist etwas anderes. Die griechischen Buchstaben dieses Stils werden in ihrer plastischen Selbständigkeit durch die Zierhäkchen nicht verändert. Die Autonomie griechischer Buchstaben des Häkchenstils geht nicht verloren. Der Einfluß des Stils der römischen Capitalis rustica auf die griechische Buchschrift ist in der Folgezeit zu spüren. Die Schrift des Berliner Hesiodpapyrus und der Iliashandschrift von Hawâra, um nur zwei bekannte griechische Papyri dieses Stils zu nennen, scheinen diesen Einfluß zu verraten. Man wird den Stil der Schrift dieser Papyri ins 1. - 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. datieren müssen.

Ein kurzes Eingehen auf Elemente römischer Malerei des 2. Stils mag dazu beitragen, den römischen Charakter der Capitalis rustica und die Zeit der Entstehung dieses Schriftstils deutlich zu machen. Ich möchte ganz kurz den Stil der Capitalis rustica zur römischen Komposition des berühmten Frieses der Villa Misteri

in Pompeji, dessen Vorbild im griechisch-hellenistischen Bereich zu suchen ist, in Beziehung setzen. Die griechische

Figurenmauer⁹, die uns ein Bild des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus der Nekropole von Ruvo zeigen kann, wird beim Fries der Mysterienvilla nach römischem Stilgefühl umgeprägt¹⁰. Der römische Fries der Villa Misteri fügt sich einer Architekturmalerei ein. Die Figuren verlieren dabei ihre griechische Selbständigkeit. Sie sind nur noch als Teil eines Ganzen zu begreifen. Diese Ganze ist dreigeteilt. Es besteht bei unserer Abbildung aus einem vorspringenden Sockel, auf dem als Bildmitte die Figuren dargestellt sind. Dem Sockel entspricht in symmetrischer Anordnung eine Abschlußzone. Der Maler unternimmt den Versuch einer Straffung der Figurenkomposition, die durch die gemalten Pilaster ihre Akzente erhält. Die Bildmitte wird durch vertikale und horizontale Dreiteilung stark betont. Die interpunctio der Schrift und die gemalten Pilaster des Frieses der Mysterienvilla sind Ausdruck römischen Formgefühls für Symmetrie. Wenn die interpunctio auch noch Lesehilfe war, kommt hier etwas vom praktischen römischen Sinn zum Ausdruck. Lesehilfe allein war die interpunctio sicher nicht. Es hat seine besonderen Gründe, daß die interpunctio noch in der lateinischen Epigraphik der römischen Spätzeit anzutreffen ist, während sie auf Papyrus schon mit Beginn des 2. Jahrhunderts immer seltener wird, schließlich ganz verschwindet und bei Papyrus-Militärurkunden - soweit ich sehe - nie festzustellen ist.

Man wird die Capitalis rustica als römische Schöpfung augusteischer Zeit ansehen dürfen. Sie ist die römische Buchschrift, die eine enge, klare Zeilenführung ermöglicht. Der Schriftspiegel kann jetzt zu einer festgefügtten Mitte eines Kodexblattes werden. Vielleicht ist auch der Kodex eine römische Schöpfung augusteischer Zeit. Römische Symmetrie, vertikale und horizontale Dreiteilung, wird beim Kodex durch die betonte Mitte des Schriftspiegels und durch die Blattränder erreicht. Die Capitalis rustica war wohl bis zum Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts lebendige lateinische Buchschrift des römischen Reiches. Abecedarien des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts zeigen neben Schriftformen, die sich an die Capitalis rustica anlehnen, besonders Buchstaben in unzialen Formen (P. Ant. 1; P. Oxy. 1315). Die bekannten Vergilkodizes des späten Altertums in Capitalis rustica wird man nicht als Gegenbeweis anführen können. Diese Handschriften sind in nachkonstantinischer Zeit geschrieben, in einer Zeit, in welcher der heidnisch gebliebene Adel durch Herstellung und Verbreitung von guten Texten römischer Literatur das römische Geisteserbe im Kampf gegen das aufblühende Christentum zu erhalten suchte. Diese Vergilkodizes, besonders die Prachthandschriften in Capitalis rustica und Capitalis quadrata, sind als glänzende Gegenstücke zu den kostbaren Unzial-Purpurhandschriften der Christen zu begreifen¹¹. Die römische Buchschrift, die Capitalis rustica, wurde beim Versuch einer heidnisch-römischen Re-

naissance geradezu zum Politikum. Der Unziale, der vordringenden Buchschrift vornehmlich christlicher Literatur, wurde in der Zeit des ausgehenden Altertums bewußt die altrömische Capitalis rustica gegenübergestellt. Eine vermeintliche alte Capitalis quadrata kam gegen Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts auf, eine Buchschrift, die den in Stein gehauenen litterae Damasianae des Filocalus nachgebildet zu sein scheint. Vielleicht wurde von Filocalus oder seiner Schule die Capitalis quadrata für kurze Zeit als Buchschrift eingeführt. Eine lateinische Buchschrift in der Form des Codex Augusteus und Sangallensis hat es vor Filocalus wohl nicht gegeben. Die Capitalis rustica und Capitalis quadrata scheint in der Zeit des 4. - 6. Jahrhunderts in römischen Skriptorien nur noch als Kunstschrift Pflege gefunden zu haben. Lebendige Buchschrift war die Capitalis quadrata wahrscheinlich nie, die Capitalis rustica nicht mehr. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es interessant zu beobachten, daß Vergilhandschriften der Zeit des ausgehenden Altertums, deren Schriftheimat nicht Italien ist, alle in Unziale geschrieben sind. Die beiden Vergilfragmente aus Ägypten, der Antinoepapyrus Nr. 30 in Capitalis rustica und der Oxyrhynchuspapyrus Nr. 1098 in Capitalis quadrata sind bezeichnenderweise keine Papyri. Es sind Reste von Pergamentkodizes vermutlich italischer Herkunft.

Die Entwicklung des Schriftstils des Verrespapyrus führte, wie ich kurz darzustellen versuchte, zur Capitalis rustica, zu einer Schrift von Großbuchstaben, die nach römischem Stilgesetz geformt sind. Die lateinischen Papyri aus Herculaneum und zahlreiche pompejanische Wandinschriften sind im Stil lateinischer Buchschrift, der Capitalis rustica, geschrieben. Auf pompejanischen Wänden sind ebenso zahlreiche Inschriften im Stil lateinischer Urkundenschrift, einer immer mehr nach Buchstabenverbindung strebenden, schnell ausgeführten Schrift mit ausgebildeten Ober- und Unterlängen, erhalten. Die Trennung lateinischer Schrift republikanischer Zeit in eine Buch- und Urkundenschrift vollzieht sich in augusteischer Zeit nicht nur in Italien. Vermutlich beginnen sich zu dieser Zeit beide Stilformen lateinischer Schrift im gesamten römischen Reich zu verbreiten. Ein frühes Übungsbeispiel lateinischer Buch- und Urkundenschrift stellt für Ägypten der Hawârapapyrus Nr. 24 dar.

P. Hawâra Nr. 24 (Abb. 6):

Die Capitalis rustica, deren Großbuchstaben mit Basis- und Abschlußstrichen unverbunden nebeneinander stehen, übte der Schreiber mit dem Aeneisvers IV, 174. Von diesem Vers ist ... iut velocius gut zu lesen. Der ganze Vers

Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum
ist nicht ausgeschrieben. Nach velocius ist ein deutliches Spatium festzustellen. Das Versende ullum konnte bei der Schreibübung deshalb fehlen, weil die Buchstaben dieses Wortes schon mehrmals geübt worden waren: Der Buchstabe U schon viermal, die Buchstaben L und M bereits dreimal.

Neben der Capitalis rustica wurde auf derselben Blattseite die lateinische Urkundenschrift geübt. Gramma ist deutlich zu lesen. Ob man hier den Horazvers Ars Poetica 78

Grammatici certant, et adhuc sub iudice lis est ergänzen darf, scheint mir fraglich. Die gut lesbaren Buchstaben dieser lateinischen Urkundenschrift sind schon sehr eng aneinandergerückt. Der Eindruck einer Kursivschrift wird erweckt. Das R mit starker Unterlänge fällt besonders auf. Oberlängen von Druckstrichen der Buchstaben A und M lassen sich in verkürzter Form erkennen. Stark ausgeprägt ist die Oberlänge des aus den Schriftresten noch erkennbaren letzten Buchstabens, eines A. Betonte Zeilenmitte, Ober- und Unterlängen kennzeichnen diesen Stil lateinischer Urkundenschrift.

Auf der anderen Seite des Hawârapapyrus steht eine Schreibübung mit dem Aeneisvers II, 601, eine Schrift, die römisches Stilgesetz nicht voll zum Ausdruck bringt. Die Zeilenmitte ist auch hier betont. Die Buchstaben B und D haben geschwungene Oberlängen. Es überrascht aber, daß Unterlängen, die man beim R z.B. erwarten müßte, offenbar vermieden wurden. Ansätze einer Dreiteilung der Schrift sind zwar vorhanden, einen durchgebildeten lateinischen Schriftstil zeigt diese Seite des Hawârapapyrus aber noch nicht, weder den Stil der Urkundenschrift noch der Buchschrift.

Beobachtungen zur Paläographie früher lateinischer Papyri konnten nur in einer knappen Skizze mitgeteilt werden. In der Schrift der Ostraka von el-Fawâchir, des Wiener Macedobriefes 1b und des Berliner Briefes des Phileros an seine Mitsklaven ist der Stil der scriptura actuaria republikanischer Zeit, der als Urkundenschrift und Buchschrift gelten darf, noch lebendig. Der Schreiber des Wiener Macedobriefes 1a beherrschte bereits die Formen einer ausgeprägten lateinischen Urkundenschrift. Die Schrift des Gießener Verrespapyrus, ein Versuch lateinischer Buchschrift, ist noch ganz vom Stil lateinischer Urkundenschrift des Macedobriefes 1a bestimmt. Die Entwicklung des Stils des Verrespapyrus führt zur Capitalis rustica, einer Zweilinienschrift von Großbuchstaben, die nach römischem Stilgesetz geformt sind. Die Schöpfung gültiger Formen ausgeprägter lateinischer Schrift ist eine Leistung augusteischer Zeit.

Anmerkungen:

- 1 Degrassi, A., Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae, Imagines, S. 323, Nr. 401.
- 2 Curtius, L., Die Wandmalerei Pompejis, Abb. 41, S. 61.
- 3 Schefold, K., Pompejanische Malerei, Taf. 12.
- 4 Schefold, K., o. c., Taf. 13.
- 5 Seider, R., Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri, I, Taf. IX, Nr. 16.
- 6 Schefold, K., o. c., Taf. 19.
- 7 Schefold, K., o. c., S. 102.
- 8 Schefold, K., o. c., S. 171f.
- 9 Maiuri, A. und B., Das Nationalmuseum in Neapel, S. 74.
- 10 Schefold, K., o. c., Taf. 3.
- 11 Turrini, G., Millennium Scriptorii Veronensis dal IV aö XV secolo, Evangeliarium Purpureum (Abb.).

IMPORTANT EASTERN DYNASTS IN THE POPYRI*

R.D. Sullivan

Five men and one woman, mentioned in three papyri, one parchment, and a fistful of ostraca, compose this paper. The first and last lived nearly two centuries apart; the other three were contemporaries. All shared one major distinction: they belonged to the dynastic network which once governed Greeks, Iranians, and Semites from Anatolia to Egypt.

First the woman, a daughter of Tigranes the Great. About 1909 "a stone jar hermetically sealed" turned up in a cave near Avroman in Kurdistan, which Parthia ruled in the first century B.C.¹ The jar yielded some leather rolls. Two are in Greek, recording vineyard sales. The first begins, "In the reign of the King of Kings Arsaces, Euergetes, Dikaios, Epiphanes, and Philellēn, and of the Queens, Siākē his compaternal (ὁμοπατρία) sister and wife, his wife Aryazātē surnamed Automá, daughter of the Great King Tigranes (τῆς ἐγ βασιλέως μεγάλου Τιγράνου), and Azátē his compaternal sister and wife, year 225". Regarding that date, no breathtaking revelations from me. After weaving a circle round it thrice and closing my eyes in holy dread I think Minns rightly saw the Seleucid era here; thus a date of 86 B.C.²

This parchment confirms a practice previously known from literary sources: dynastic marriages between Parthians and neighboring kings, especially the Graeco-Iranians of Atropatene, Armenia, and Commagene. We know that Tigranes the Great of Armenia, the "Great King" of this document, married two children to Parthian royalty. Similarly, Orodes II of Parthia sired by a daughter of Antiochus I of Commagene sons with claims on the throne of Parthia.³

Parthians began this long before, even picking up the odd Seleucid where they could. One marriage involved a sister of Antiochus Grypus, the Seleucid grandfather of this Antiochus of Commagene. Another joined, with a clap like thunder, a Parthian princess to Demetrius Nicator. At the time of this document a Seleucid king, Demetrius Eucærus,⁴ dwelt restlessly in the court of Mithradates, whose titles Euergetes, Dikaios, and Philellēn must have struck an ironic note for Demetrius while awaiting release or execution. So now we learn from the Avroman scroll of yet another marriage as Tigranes peddles his young to all takers. Aryazātē came furnished with two names and a pedigree sufficient to rank her with ruling queens even on sale formularies.

This accords with the international situation. Parthians worried about conjunction of royal houses in Pontus and Armenia. Consequent dynastic manoeuvring led to blows, to these marriages, and to sparring about titles. Parthians would call Tigranes "King of Kings" when they had to, slapping their heads that they'd let him go after holding him hostage⁵ in his youth. But at the time of this document, Tigranes — whose Iranian name means "Swiftly" — has not yet made the major sweeps he contemplated and must be content with "Great King" when thumbing through the year's Parthian vineyard quotations.

Within four years Tigranes moved on Commagene and Antioch, taking advantage of the shaky rule of Orodes I in Parthia and of chaos in Syria among the dying Seleucids. He left Commagene intact and was remembered there with enough awe, though not fondness, to inspire a coinage modelled on his own.⁶

He also left more tangible reminders, here and elsewhere: descendants who supplied Armenia with kings or pretenders for a century. Glimpses of the process remain in the swirl of oncoming Roman claims and increasing dynastic intermarriage.

Strabo shows, for instance, the dynasty of Atropatene easing its way into Parthia as it had into Armenia; its princesses soon adorned the royal houses of Emesa, Commagene, and Judaea. Some Greek women at these courts may have been *hetairai*, as Plutarch⁷ thought, but others became full queens, and another parchment of Minns shows a Parthian Queen Cleopatra about 20 B.C.

By 47 A.D., our first papyrus⁸ glimpses the rapid intermeshing of dynasties. It contains a quoted rescript of Claudius to the "Travelling Athletes' Guild" (a reminder that over-organization is not an entirely modern phenomenon). Claudius acknowledges two resolutions attesting their contented participation at games given in his name by "Gaius Julius Antiochus, King of Commagene, and Julius Polemo of Pontus, ἀνδράσι τειμίσις μου καὶ φίλοις".

Now, it had been long since Tigranes the Great. But Antiochus and Polemo were products of that same zeal to structure the East dynastically: both could claim distant connection with Tigranes and both ruled lands once his.

First, Polemo of Pontus. When Tigranes the Great married a daughter of Mithradates Eupator of Pontus he entered dynasties which would still rule Cappadocia for a hundred years and Pontus/Bosporus for three hundred. Both dynasties were to furnish kings for Armenia too. Our Polemo sired one; Antiochus of Commagene was related to others.

The strategy of Tigranes succeeded. Only six of his direct descendants ruled Armenia. But it could draw kings from these collateral lines. When the house of Artaxias ended, a princess was in the Galatian house, and Pontus swarmed with relatives. Yet there suddenly appears an Armenian king galloping out of the sunrise from Atropatene! Whence this apparition? If we return to the time of the Avroman scrolls, remembering that Atropatene lay just north, we find Tigranes busy there too. Dio calls its king son-in-law of Tigranes⁹; Strabo says Tigranes finally subjugated its monarchy.¹⁰ By Strabo's day¹¹ Atropatene had an independent line with intermarriage in Armenia, Parthia, and Syria. Among the Syrian relatives was our Antiochus of Commagene.

When the Atropatene line left the Armenian throne about 6 A.D., Augustus rummaged up a claimant from Judaea, of all places. This was Tigranes IV, to whom we'll return. Needless to say, I'll try to prove him related to everybody else who mattered.

There were also brief attempts now by the Parthians to rule Armenia. Rome experienced predictable emotion but time would be on the Parthians' side, after some pushing and shoving under Nero (who thought it was a war).

By 18 A.D. a king from Pontus presented himself in Armenia.¹² Tigranes the Great had sown the seeds of this, so to speak, as son-in-law of Mithradates Eupator, who thus died old. Subsequent kings of Pontus had invoked the relationship to nibble at Armenian territory. Polemo I even took Armenia Minor, which later passed to Atropatene.

Hence our Julius Polemo, *amicus* of Claudius, grandson of Polemo I, possible relative of Mark Antony.¹³ Polemo's family ruled Thrace and Armenia Minor.¹⁴ He himself flourished under Caligula as King of Pontus and Bosporus, but he exchanged Bosporus for part of Cilicia in 41, some 6 years before this papyrus.¹⁵

Polemo threaded the dynastic thickets. That meant transmitting the family genes, so he 'got kings in Cilicia and Armenia — probably by Julia Mamaea of Emesa.¹⁶ But Polemo started poorly. He married the Judaeian princess Berenice,¹⁷ sister of King Agrippa II. After two marriages — one with the Egyptian Marcus Alexander, whom we'll meet soon — she lived with Brother Agrippa on terms people clucked at. But Polemo didn't care. Through her he gained relatives in the house of Herod and closer

ties to dynasts intermarried there, including Cappadocians, Commagenians, and Emesenes. Among them were three more kings of Armenia or Cilicia — areas where Polemo had more than casual interest. But Berenice's third marriage didn't work either and soon she returned to Agrippa, leaving Polemo to console himself with games for Claudius. With similar motives, his friend Antiochus of Commagene had tried to get into the act by betrothing a son to Agrippa's daughter, but the lad broke and ran when the Jews approached for pre-nuptial circumcision.

While shuffling dynasts before his Armenian settlement of 66, Nero made heavy use of Polemo and friends. In 54 the kings mobilized against a threatened Parthian invasion of Armenia and in 60 they even partitioned it, with Polemo and Antiochus seizing adjacent lands.¹⁸ During Corbulo's campaigning, both kings offered their territory for access and for supply, since Roman lines were far too long.

Toward the end of a productive life into which we have only glimpses, Polemo abdicated from the throne of Pontus but left his name: in 64 it came under Roman control as Pontus Polemoniaca, a name still used in the time of Justinian.¹⁹

What of the other dynast mentioned with Polemo? Antiochus IV was the great-great-grandson of Antiochus I, who, like Tigranes, had married a daughter into Parthia.²⁰ His dynasty acquired connection with Atropatene when the grandfather of Antiochus IV married its princess Iotape, fresh from her betrothal to Mark Antony's son. The mother of Antiochus was thus a half-Atropatenian princess also called Iotape and his aunt was another, married into Emesa. Antiochus decided this had gone far enough and married his own sister, a *fourth* Iotape aptly surnamed Philadelphos. After deep thought they named their daughter Iotape.

Only on this papyrus does Antiochus receive Roman nomenclature; we'd expect Claudius to use it. The coinage, inscriptions, and literature always employ his dynastic names, Antiochus and Epiphanes.

In part of Rough Cilicia Antiochus and Polemo shared a border — perhaps locating these games for Claudius, if jointly offered. This area had belonged to Archelaus of Cappadocia and would pass to King Alexander, the Judaeian-Cappadocian son-in-law of Antiochus IV and descendant of Archelaus.²¹ So the region was a microcosm of the dynastic network. Both Antiochus and Polemo carried out ambitious programs of consolidation, especially through founding dynastic cities. The games mentioned in this papyrus probably served the same urbanizing purpose, besides reassuring Claudius. At least one city was named Claudiopolis.

This careful social structuring carried on beyond Antiochus and Polemo. Even after Roman absorption of the kingdoms religious ties remained, such as the cult at Doliche in Commagene said to be borrowed from Pontus. As late as Septimius Severus, Commagene was still organized as an entity around four of these cities.

In a reign that lasted from Caligula to Vespasian, Antiochus experienced everything from high praise to war at Roman hands, an honored tradition since Antiochus I, who had been called friend by Pompey and Lucullus and besieged by Antony and Herod.²² Tiberius annexed the kingdom when the father of Antiochus IV died, and he grew up in Rome, becoming so friendly with Caligula that he and Agrippa of Judaea were termed *τυραννοειδάσκαλοι* by alarmists at court.²³ When Caligula acceded he restored Antiochus and added the maritime Cilician holdings,²⁴ returning to Antony's policy of controlling the East through its native aristocracy. Antiochus rapidly rose on the intrinsic wealth of his kingdom to a position described by Tacitus²⁵ as "mighty by reason of ancient resources and richest of the allied kings".

For some reason, Caligula deposed Antiochus again, but Claudius restored him in 41, the same year he traded Polemo a part of Cilicia for Bosporus.²⁶ The full kingdom

of Antiochus ran from western Rough Cilicia to the Euphrates, broken by the holdings of Polemo in Cilicia Campestris. He ruled well for thirty-five years, founding some five cities in Cilicia alone. In older cities there the coins attest his activity. So the present papyrus is a random reflection of Rome's extensive reliance on native dynasts to bind and civilize this rough area.²⁷ Small wonder Claudius feels no surprise at goodwill from the two kings: the situation aided everyone. Rome could use these and smaller dynasts, without whom no effective policy was yet possible. In turn, Rome furnished a larger framework for dynastic activity. Ultimately this network began to phase its members into Roman service, as we'll see.

Under Vespasian, Antiochus IV again lost his kingdom. Games for Claudius were not enough. After moving from the initial Roman policy of installing consular governors in Cilicia (among them Cicero, supported by Antiochus I of Commagene) to relying instead on native dynasts, Rome now resumed gradual annexation until she reached the Euphrates.

Antiochus deserved no such fate. He served Claudius and Nero well. He floundered a bit after Nero, wondering whom to support; one of his sons emerged puzzled and wounded from a battle between followers of Vitellius and of Otho. But in the Jewish War he aided Vespasian and Titus, winning the praise of Josephus for his spectacular contingents and the resources which backed them.²⁸

On the other hand, Vespasian feared a Parthian entente with Commagene on the ancient Euphrates crossings. Tacitus and Josephus record Roman alarm at any such prospect: Parthia was the other "superpower" of the day.²⁹ Josephus notes in a wide-eyed passage that the entire Roman regime would totter if Commagene tilted eastward, and Vespasian's agents nearly fell across the border straining for a better view.

Hence a charge against Antiochus of intriguing with Parthia and Romans found themselves back in the days of Antony, laying siege to cities in Commagene. The unkindest cut of all was aid to Romans by Agrippa, the Judaeian friend and relative of Antiochus. After a skirmish, Antiochus fled toward his holdings in Cilicia and his sons to Parthia, where their warm reception must have convinced Romans they were young fry of treachery.³⁰ But it ended with Antiochus and sons finding an honored life in Rome. His daughter remained as queen in Cilicia; and Julius Antiochus Philopappus, his loving grandson, retained the title of King until his consulship. His granddaughter Balbilla would be more than a friend to Hadrian.³¹

Now in rapid succession the remaining papyri and the ostraca. The second papyrus is actually several, naming the renowned Prefect of Egypt, Ti. Julius Alexander. From the Hellenized Jewish aristocracy of Alexandria, he inherited high social position. His uncle needs no introduction: Philo Judaeus. His father, Alexander the Alabarch, does. He had achieved such wealth that King Agrippa borrowed from him, and not from the petty cash drawer: 200,000 drachmae made a lot of bread.³² The family could handle major transactions as far away as Puteoli, and the Alabarch is called procurator (ἐπιτροπέουσαντα) of Antonia, mother of Claudius. He — like Polemo, Antiochus, and Agrippa — appears among the philoi of Claudius and may have also helped in his accession.³³ Graecia capta indeed.

A second son of the Alabarch was Marcus Julius Alexander. This man chose the commercial side and the ostraca were his. In the period 37-44 A.D., the archive of Nicanor shows him active in the trade passing through the Red Sea ports at Berenice or Myos Hormos from Arabia and India.³⁴

Undoubtedly some of the money involved in these transactions stayed with Marcus. About 41 he decided to see if it would interest Berenice — not the port but the daughter of Agrippa I, who probably still owed the Alabarch the two hundred thousand.

If Berenice was collateral, the arrangement didn't hold, for she soon passed on — still claiming virginity — to her uncle, and then to our Polemo of Pontus, who fared little better.

But close relations continued between Tiberius Alexander and the Judaeian house. About the time of his brother's marriage he began his own career, which led to positions right in the thick of affairs between Rome and Judaea. By no accident, the Jewish War finds him Prefect of Egypt, and at least one toga-and-dagger trip took Agrippa II to meet Alexander in Egypt.

Alexander furthered the dynastic network. He had at least three children who attained high position or office. His personal influence appears high and two papyri show decisions of his cited as precedents long after his tenure of office, one in 200 A.D.³⁵

Alexander also joined Antiochus and Polemo in honoring Claudius. But he chose a local idiom, dedicating a relief with hieroglyphic text and poor Claudius shown supplicating two Egyptian deities.³⁶

One attraction these people found in the Judaeian house was its pool of princes and princesses. High among these were the grandson and great-grandson of Glaphyra. Her father Archelaus ruled as last king of Cappadocia till 17 A.D.³⁷ Her son Tigranes IV looked good to Augustus when the Armenian line perished and the Atropatene line went home. So about 6 A.D. Augustus plucked him from the Judaeian house to be installed in Armenia. Glaphyra had passed on to him dynastic claims deriving partly from Tigranes the Great over 70 years before. Josephus says she herself claimed descent from the Persians, and Augustus speaks of her son Tigranes as ex regio genere Armeniorum.³⁸ But he lost the favour of the Armenians, and, in 36, of Tiberius.

The ambitions of Tigranes IV and his grandfather Archelaus of Cappadocia may lie behind their trouble with Tiberius. The marriage of Archelaus to the widow of Polemo I³⁹ had joined Pontus and Cappadocia: Armenia under his grandson might have prompted impermissible dreams of renewed Anatolian grandeur. Also, the high lineage of Tigranes and his brother had brought the suggestion that one of them might succeed their grandfather Herod the Great. So the Judaeian house harbored a useful but dangerous family in these Cappadocians.

The family soon grew more so. About 60 A.D. it produced a second claimant for Armenia, Tigranes V, whom the campaigning of Corbulo and mobilization of the dynasts were designed to maintain. But the effort failed and Armenia was left at last to Arsacid rule. The sole legacy of Tigranes V was one last king in the Commagenian dynasty. This was his Judaeian-Cappadocian son King Alexander. In 72, when Vespasian took over Commagene proper, he left Alexander as King in Rough Cilicia, predictably married to the daughter of Antiochus.

King Alexander ruled as an appropriate last king there before demotion to Roman senator and consul. This region had been ruled by his father-in-law Antiochus and his great-great-grandfather Archelaus, through whom he represented the Cappadocian line, which had also drawn royalty from Pontus. The Armenian claim had lived on in Alexander's own father Tigranes V.

What remained open to these post-royal aristocrats toward the end of the first century, when few kings besides Agrippa II of Judaea remained south of Bosphorus and west of Armenia, was similar responsibility exercised through local and Roman offices. The tide of Oriental senators was rising; these scions of former kings formed its crest.

A single text can illustrate this and introduce our last papyrus. About 118, an inscription at Ancyra honors the Galatian noble C. Julius Severus as descendent of various kings and tetrarchs.⁴⁰ It lists a few of his relations, calling him kinsman of many senators and ἀνεψιός of four consulars. We find among these our Judaeian King Alexander of Cilicia and a certain Claudius Severus.

This man, linked by the inscription to King Alexander and through him to the Judaeo-Commagenian-Cappadocian-Armenian aristocracy, is also mentioned in our last papyrus. P. Michigan viii 466, dated 107, is a letter from a soldier to his parents. The soldier serves in one of Trajan's legions in Arabia. He has little taste for breaking rocks all day in the heat as the others do and asks the consular commanding his legion for work as his secretary. The commander is C. Claudius Severus, ἀνεπιόχης of Julius Severus, relative of King Alexander, and the first governor of Arabia.⁴¹

It is well for this paper to end with him, for Claudius Severus stands in the same relation to Rome as the related kings of Emesa did: from him descended a member of the Imperial house of Rome, the Claudius Severus⁴² who married the daughter of Marcus Aurelius. Another member of this family⁴³ would marry the emperor Elagabalus,⁴⁴ himself a descendant of the dynasty of Emesa — which had been allied by marriage to that of Commagene and of Pontus.

A parchment, three papyri, and some ostraca. Almost the only such materials to mention Eastern dynasts, otherwise well represented in the literature and inscriptions. It's a long way from Tigranes of Armenia to Claudius Severus of Galatia by way of Antiochus of Commagene, Polemo of Pontus, and the Alabarch's two sons. But the vitality of the network of Eastern aristocrats is highlighted by this random survival of five "documents" revealing individuals from Egypt to Parthia separated by as much as two centuries yet able to be brought into firm conjunction.

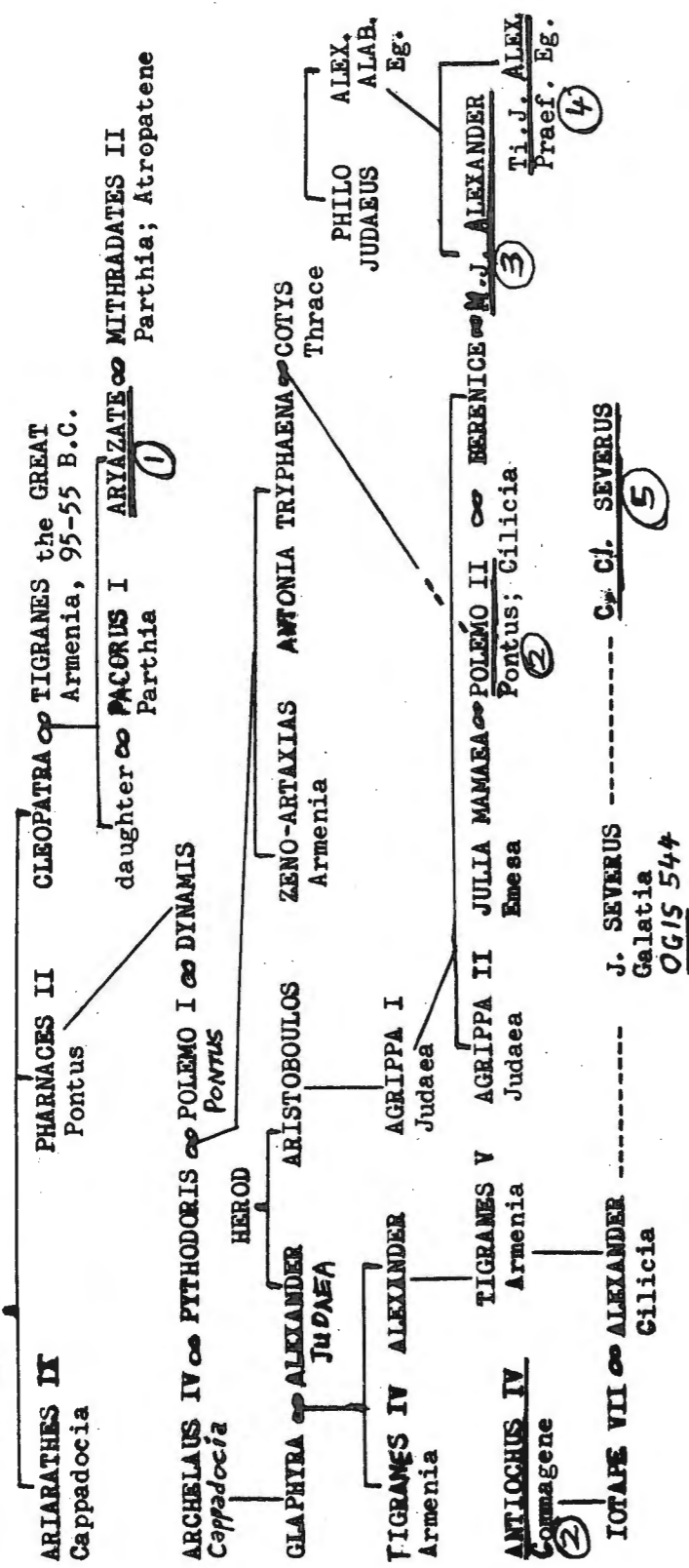
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* My thanks to Dr. Revel Coles for inviting this paper. A larger treatment of the subject will appear in the Special Papyrological Number of Museum Philologum Londiniense for 1975.

1. E. Minns in JHS 35 (1915) 22-65; cf. NC 6 (1966) 19.
2. The era beginning 311 seems preferable to the one from 312 Minns used. See Rostovtzeff in YCS 2 (1931) 41f. — a most tendentious bit of argument — and Simonetta in NC 6 (1966) 18-20.
3. Dio 49.23.3-4. 4. Jos. AJ 13.384-86. 5. Strabo 11.14.15.532.
6. R. Sullivan in NC 13 (1973) 18-36, with stemmata. 7. Crass. 32.5.
8. P. Lond. 3.1178 = Wilcken, Chrest. 156 = Smallwood, Gaius, etc. 374 (part).
9. Dio 36.14.2. Cf. RE 6A (1936) 976. 10. Strabo 11.14.15.532.
11. Strabo 11.13.1-2.523. 12. This was Zeno-Artaxias, PIR² A 1168.
13. PIR² J 472. 14. PIR² C 1554 and 1555, J 517. 15. Dio 60.8.2.
16. RN 11 (1969) 45-47. This assumes the Julius Polemo of our papyrus identical with M. Antonius Polemo of the coinage, an identification less unlikely than it would seem outside the polyonymous East. See G. Hill in NC (ser.3) 19 (1899) 181-207. The family signalled its descent from Antony by using his name: PIR² A 864 (perhaps our Polemo), 882, 900 (his mother). Antony had recognized Polemo I for part of Cilicia (App. B.C. 5.75.319) too. The new coin's legend - ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓ(άλου) - accords better with the former King of Pontus and Bosphorus than with a minor dynast. Polemo II apparently did use M.ANT. in Cilicia, perhaps only after the Julio-Claudians: Babelon, Inventaire ... Waddington 248 no.4427 = BMC Lycaonia liv no.2 (Polemo and Galba).
17. PIR² J 651. 18. Tac. Ann. 14.26.2. 19. Justin., Nov. 31; E. Honigmann, Le Synekdemos d'Hiérokles (Bruxelles 1939) 37 no.702.3.
20. See the stemma for his house at NC 13 (1973) 36.
21. PIR² A 1023; A 500 = J 136. 22. Dio 49.22; Plut. Ant. 34; Jos. AJ 14.439 and BJ 1.320-22. Pompey claimed conquest: App. Mithr. 117.
23. Dio 59.24.1. 24. Dio 59.8.2. 25. Tac. Hist. 2.81.1. 26. Dio 60.8.1.

27. Strabo 14.5.6.671; 12.1-4.533-537. 28. Jos. BJ 5.460-65; 2.500; 3.68.
29. Tac. Hist. 2.82.3; Jos. BJ 7.219-243. 30. Jos. BJ 7.237.
31. PIR² J 151 and 650. 32. Jos. AJ 18.159f. 33. Jos. AJ 19.276; 18.159ff.
34. J. Tait, Greek Ostraca, I (London 1930) 116-122 nos.252, 266f., 271, 282.
35. P. Oxy. vi 899.27; C.P.J. ii 418 d-e. Cf. IGLSyr 4011. On Alexander's supposed Praetorian Prefecture, see E.W. Gray in JHS 92 (1972) 235.
36. OGIS 663. 37. PIR² G 176 and A 1023. 38. Jos. BJ 1.476; Res Gestae 27.2. 39. PIR¹ P 834 and 405. 40. IGRR III 173 = OGIS 544 = Bosch, Quellen ... Ankaras (Ankara 1967) 122ff. nr.105.
41. JRS 61 (1971) 235; cf. Syria 50 (1973) 227 notes 7-8; PIR² C 1023.
42. PIR² C 1024. 43. PIR² J 648. 44. PIR¹ V 184; cf. PIR² J 649.

MITHRADATES EUPATOR
Pontus, 120-63 B.C.



1 E. Minns, *JHS* 35 (1915) 22-65; *NC* 6 (1966) 19

2 P. Lond. iii 1178 (47 A.D.)

3 J. Tait, *O. Petrie* 252, 266 f., 271, 282 (37-44 A.D.); *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian* (London 1930) i, pp. 116-122

4 P. *Oxy.* vi 899, etc.

5 P. *Mich.* VIII 466 (107 A.D.)

Anna Świderek
Une nouvelle copie de P.Mich.IX 529.25-38

Le volume IX des Michigan Papyri présente, au No 529, un papyrus intéressant, que son éditeur, Mme Husselman, intitule: "Petition to the Prefect, Court proceedings". Selon Mme Husselman, il s'agit ici de deux documents indépendants: au recto, notamment, d'une requête, adressée au préfet Maevius Honoratianus, qui exerçait ses fonctions entre 232-238 AD, et relative à l'imposition d'une liturgie contrairement aux lois en vigueur. Le verso présenterait, au dire de l'éditeur, "a transcript from the imperial rescripts of Severus and Caracalla consisting of an excerpt from a court case with a decision, based on a rescript of those emperors".

Parmi les papyrus confiés par les Staatliche Museen zu Berlin à l'Institut de Papyrologie de l'Université de Varsovie en vue de leur publication¹, se trouve un document, No inv.7216, qui constitue une autre copie du texte de P.Mich.IX 529 v. ll. 25-38, donc de la partie, considérée par Mme Husselman comme un "excerpt from a court case".²

P. Berol. inv. 7216

5
10

τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Σεουήρου
'Αντωνεῖνου Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
ἢ τέλη ποικίλα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ
νομῷ ὧν μισθωτὴς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ βαρύνει τοῦ
γεωργίου καὶ τῆς ἀβρόχου χώρας τῆν
μονοδεσμίων ἀπαίτει· δέονται νῦν τὰ μὲν
τῶν τελῶν διὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπομισθώ-
σασθαι, τὰ δὲ τῆ γῆ ἐπιβάλλεσθαι οἱ.
πόττερον ἀνθρώπου ἐνόσ·
] α τασαύτη 'Αντωνεῖνος [
Σεβαστὸς] ἐπιβληθήσεται τοῖνυν

τοῖς πλουσιωτέροις· εἰ δ' οὖν τοὺς λεπτοῦς
καὶ τοὺς ἀγροίκους οὐ βαρήσι ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ο.
τῶν βουλευτῶν συμφωνεῖα

Le texte souligné se trouve aussi dans P.Mich.IX 529;
 11.1-2=P.Mich.1.25: [ἐξ ἀπκριμάτων θεῶν Σεουήρου καὶ
 'Αντωνίνου] 1.8=P.Mich.1.31: [τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῆ γῆ ἐπιβάλλεσθαι
 1.9=P.Mich.1.31: πόπερόν ἐστίν ἀνθρώπου ἐνο[
 11.13-14=P.Mich.1.36 biffée et remplacée par les 11.35 et
 37 (dans P.Mich.1.36 μῆ βαρ[...]).

Du fait que les deux marges manquent au papyrus de Berlin, il est impossible de fixer le nombre de lettres, contenues soit dans la lacune droite, soit dans la lacune gauche. Il est seulement possible de calculer le nombre de signes qui se trouvent entre la fin d'une ligne du texte conservé et le début de la ligne suivante (pour simplifier, notre transcription place généralement toutes les reconstitutions du côté gauche). Ce sont surtout les ll. 3-4, 11-12 et 12-13 du P.Berol., correspondant aux ll. 28, 34 et 36 du P.Mich. qui donnent un fondement solide à ce calcul. L'identité des deux textes permet de préciser que le papyrus berlinois présente les lacunes suivantes: entre la fin de la 1.3 et le début de la 1.4 - 11 lettres; entre la fin de la 1.11 et le début de la 1.12 ainsi qu'entre la fin de la 1.12 et le début de la 1.13 - 8 lettres seulement. Cette constatation permet de calculer approximativement la dimension des lacunes dans les autres lignes. C'est de cette même manière qu'il est actuellement aussi possible d'évaluer des lacunes dans le papyrus de Michigan qui, elles, reviendraient à 14 lettres entre la fin de la 1.27 et le début de la 1.28, et à 15 lettres entre la fin de la 1.28 et le début de la 1.29.

Le document de Michigan présente un extrait des actes officiels fait à une date plus tardive. Son recto provient des

années 232 - 232 AD, et le verso semble lui être contemporain, si^{on} plus tardif encore. Cette suggestion est appuyée par la titulature impériale de la 1.25: θεῶν Σεουήρου καὶ 'Αντωνίνου. L'extrait des apokrimata est donc sûrement postérieur à la mort de Caracalla. Par contre, le document berlinois fut dressé, à ce qu'il semble, du vivant de cet empereur. La titulature impériale employée témoigne qu'il s'agit ici d'un document, rédigé après l'année 212, quand - après la mort de Geta - Caracalla était seul au pouvoir (cf. ll. 10-11 = 1.33 du P.Mich., où Antoninos Sebastos figure sans co-régent). La date la plus probable serait ici celle de la visite de Caracalla en Egypte, donc l'automne de l'année 215.

La ligne 26 du papyrus de Michigan reste sans équivalent dans le texte conservé du document berlinois. Sa première partie (μεθ' ἕτερα τὸ ἀνήκον μέρος) n'y a probablement jamais figuré. Les mots cités sont suivis du fragment d'un nom propre Λολιαν.³ Plus loin (ll. 10-11 = 1.34 du P.Mich.) le nom de l'empereur figure au nominatif, suivi - comme il est permis de le présumer - du mot εἶπεν ou ἀλάγει, car les paroles qui viennent ensuite constituent, sans aucun doute, l'énoncé impérial. Si l'on lisait à la 1.26 du papyrus de Michigan (= 1.3 du papyrus berlinois) le nom de Lolianos au datif, pour donner au document la forme typique d'apokrima, la forme nominative du nom de l'empereur deviendrait inintelligible. S'agirait-il donc ici d'un procès verbal d'audience, analogue au texte, publié en 1948 par M.Schwartz⁴? La première partie du document, jusqu'à la ligne 10, terminée par le mot τοσαύτη présenterait alors le plaidoyer d'un certain Lolianos, accusant un fermier qui "non seulement perçoit de nombreux impôts dans le nome, mais, en plus, opprime les cultivateurs et réclame la monodesmia sur les terres non inondées, bien que certains impôts doivent être donnés

Il est à noter qu'environ vingt ans après sa date de rédaction le texte fut cité sous un même en-tête avec un autre document qui, lui, constitue un épokrima de Sévère et Caracalla, daté de l'année 200 (P.Mich.IX 529.39+53).

Il est remarquable que le texte même n'ait subi que d'infimes modifications, bien que la copie postérieure témoigne d'un soin plus particulier en ce qui concerne le style du document et la formulation plus claire de son contenu.

Malgré l'opinion contraire de Mme Husselman je crois que le verso du P.Mich.IX 529 est intimement lié à son recto. Il s'agit notamment de deux énoncés impériaux au sujet de deux causes à la fois différentes et semblables, probablement cités à l'appui de la requête qui se trouve au recto du papyrus.

N o t e s

1. Voir A.Świderek, Les BGU de Varsovie, Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, München 1974, 393-396.
2. Ce document berlinois fut analysé en son temps du point de vue de la paléographie par M.Cavallo, dans son article "La scrittura del P.Berol.11532, contributo allo studio dello stile di cancelleria nei papyri greci di età romana", Aegyptus 45, 1965, 216-249 (P.Berol. 7216 est reproduit à la planche 8). J'en publie le texte ci-dessous avec l'autorisation de M.W.Müller, directeur du Aegyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, à qui j'exprime ma sincère reconnaissance.

à ferme par la boulè, et d'autres imposés sur les terres". Il s'agit ici probablement de souligner la différence entre les impôts directs (comme les impôts fonciers ainsi que la capitation) et les impôts indirects, qui sont encore donnés à ferme. Selon Wallace⁵, la monodesmia était d'habitude perçue directement, mais il existe aussi le témoignage du P.Fay 34, d'après lequel elle pouvait parfois être donnée à ferme avec d'autres impôts. La dernière phrase de Lolianos (s'il s'agit vraiment de ses propres paroles) dirait à peu près: "est-ce possible qu'un seul homme puisse se permettre de telles libertés?"

La formulation de l'énoncé de l'empereur manque pour nous de clarté; elle était déjà peu compréhensible pour ceux qu'elle concernait directement, ce dont témoignent les corrections, introduites dans la copie postérieure. Il s'agit cependant d'une injonction, conforme à la politique générale de Caracalla qui tend à imposer les contribuables les plus riches. Il semble même que, selon la volonté expresse de l'empereur, les indigents et les paysans (τοὺς λεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀγροίκους⁶) ne soient chargés de certaines redevances qu'en vigueur d'un arrêté unanime (συμφωνεῖα) de la boulè.

M.Bowman dans son livre sur "The Town Councils of Roman Egypt" constate ce qui suit: "Apart from being an essential cog in the imperial bureaucracy, it (sc. la boulè) was also the link between that bureaucracy and the tax-payer in the metropolis and the nome, and hence sustained a dual role as an agent of the state and, as the protector of the tax-payer against unfair treatment".⁷ Le papyrus berlinois illustre d'une façon frappante ce rôle de la boulè, tout en témoignant, à ce qu'il semble, que du moins au début du III^e siècle, certains impôts indirects étaient encore perçus par les fermiers.⁸

Un autre problème, dont la solution revient aux spécialistes, c'est la qualification juridique du document de Berlin.

3. Comme Mme Husselman (ad loc.) l'admet, il est impossible de préciser, s'il s'agit ici d'un avocat, ou bien de l'une des deux parties du litige.
4. J.Schwartz et P.Benoît, "Caracalla et les troubles d'Alexandrie en 215 après J.C.", *Etudes de Papyrologie* 7, 1948, 17 - 33(= SB 9213).
5. Wallace, *Taxation*, p.72-74; ~~sur~~ mais cf, aussi p.289 (P.Fay 34)
6. Cf. "homines rustici tenues" de l'inscription de "saltus Burunitanus", CIL VIII 10570 et 14464, voir M.Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 709, n.8.
7. A.K.Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, Toronto 1971, 77; cf. also p.122 et l'interprétation de P.Oxy XII 1414 ~~par le même auteur~~ pass.
8. Cf. Apokrimata XI.

voir N. Lewis *Further Thoughts on the Mutilated Papyrus Apokrimata* dans *Miscellanea Papyrologica* 19... p.127-133. TP

A Fragment of a Table of Consuls from Tebtunis W.J.Tait

The papyrus discussed here is the property of the Egypt Exploration Society of London.¹ It belongs to a group of texts that are in the process of being published by the Society in an edition prepared by the present writer, and this is to form a volume in the Society's new documentary series. The papyri are a little over fifty in number, and include texts written in Greek, in demotic Egyptian, and also a few in hieratic and in hieroglyphs.

The texts to be published are a selection from a very considerable parcel of papyrus material housed for the Egypt Exploration Society in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. The provenance of these papyri is not recorded, but from internal evidence it can be concluded with confidence that the entire collection comes from Tebtunis. Although only a handful of the texts are securely dated, it is plain that the great majority of them are to be assigned to the second century A.D. Grenfell and Hunt excavated the town and the cemeteries of Tebtunis during the winter of 1899-1900. However, the present parcel seems to have formed an individual purchase from dealers made by Grenfell and Hunt in Egypt at some date after their excavations.

Of the texts to be published, those in demotic Egyptian are perhaps of the greatest interest. The parcel contains surprisingly few fragments of demotic documents. Such as there are do not appear to be of any particular value, and none of them have at present been prepared for publication. However, the demotic literary texts, although fragmentary, provide much new and useful

information, and several of them are the first of their kind to have come to light.

The demotic narrative texts include several belonging to the cycle of Inaros-Petubastis texts. Our ideas of the scope of this cycle are steadily being modified as more and more texts, housed in a number of different museums and collections, are studied and published. Another fragment preserves a section of a duplicate version of the well-known Leiden demotic papyrus containing animal fables, known as 'Kufi', or as the 'Mythus vom Sonnenauge', which is notable for being a demotic Egyptian text of which we possess both the original, and fragments of a Greek translation, written in the third century A.D.² A small fragment seems likely from its contents to belong to a prophetic text of precisely the same kind as the Greek 'Potter's Oracle', which is generally accepted to be a translation or adaptation of an Egyptian text. Another papyrus preserves part of the kind of demotic original from which the Greek 'Invocation of Isis' was translated. There are also two insignificant scraps that have proved to belong to the same papyrus as a number of more substantial unpublished fragments belonging to the Carlsberg Foundation and housed in the Egyptological Institute of the University of Copenhagen. This text is an extensive and systematic demotic Egyptian herbal. The existence of Egyptian herbal texts has long been surmised, but this is the first example to be found. It is remarkable that the text is completely without illustrations. Other fragments belong to wisdom texts, dream books, and medical texts.

All the Greek texts in the collection are in a very fragmentary condition. There are very few literary fragments, and none of importance. Perhaps to be described as literary is a small piece of an astrological text, and there are also some fragments of a Greek herbal with coloured illustrations, very similar to the Greek herbal already published from Tebtunis, and two fragments of a medical text.

The parcel of material as a whole contains a great number of fragments of Greek documents. These are generally too slight to be of value considered by themselves, but some of them usefully supplement texts already published: for example, two fragments to be included in the forthcoming volume are the openings of returns of priests made for the priesthood of the temple of Sobek at Tebtunis, and they may be compared with material published in the section of P.Tebt.ii devoted to 'The Priests of Soknebtunis'.

The papyrus to be discussed in more detail is a fragment from a table of consuls.³ The contents as such do not provide any new information. It is presented here because the precise nature and purpose of the list is quite uncertain, and also because further fragments of the text may exist elsewhere: for among the papyri to be published in the same volume there are several examples of fragments that either certainly or probably belong to the same papyrus as texts in other collections.

The fragment preserves the beginnings of the names of the Roman consuls for the years A.D. 149-159, arranged

in a vertical column, and immediately to the left of this there are traces of a column containing figures running from 12 to 22: there can be no doubt that this column gives the years of the Emperor, although it is impossible to be certain upon which system they were reckoned.

The names of the consuls are written in Greek script and language, and are expressed in the genitive case. Apart from uncertain traces, only one name is preserved in each line. Seven are praenomina, three are nomina, and one is a cognomen. Clearly the table in some cases gave two and in others gave three names: it sometimes included and sometimes omitted the praenomen.

It is impossible to judge the original extent of the table, or whether or not there were further parallel columns, giving the date in accordance with a different era, or any kind of annual information. Speculations as to the purpose of the table fall into two distinct categories: it may be concerned with the study of chronology, or it may be administrative in nature.

The notable difference between the table and the considerably later Greek (and Latin) Fasti that survive, which served the study of chronology and history, lies in the form of the names: the Fasti employ simply a cognomen. The various published papyri that might be called chronological⁴ include no text that sheds any light on the present table. Chryseros the Nomenclator, a freedman of the Emperor Verus, is said to have written a history of Rome to the death of Verus with a full record of the Roman magistrates.⁵

The tabular form of the list might suggest that it is of an official or administrative nature. It is not surprising that in Egypt such a list should be found in Greek. However, the hand does not support the idea that this is an official table. The omission of some praenomina, the use of the genitive, and the fact, virtually certain, that only the two eponymous consuls are listed suggest the list cannot be a full record, related to the contemporary consular fasti, but might be a succinct table, to compare the two methods of dating. Dating of Greek documents by the consuls is distinctly rare before the third century A.D.

1 I should like to thank the Society for permission to discuss their papyri here; also to thank Dr J.R.Rea for his help concerning the table of consuls, and all those who offered useful comments at the Congress.

2 The new demotic fragment is fully discussed in Acta Orientalia 36 (1974), 23ff.

3 In this condensed paper any physical description of the papyrus is omitted, as well as any justification of the readings offered in the transcription, and any discussion of the (apparently unimportant) anomalies in the table (152: αἰλλίου ; 156: L. for M.). The hand suggests that the table was not written later than the end of the second century.

4 See Pack², section 'History and Geography': add P.Oxy. xxxi.2551.

5 Theophilus of Antioch, Ad Autolyicum III.27: this point is not clear from F.Gr.H. II A 96: see text and translation by R.M.Grant (1970).

149	ι β]	σεργιου	SER. CORNELIVS SCIPIO
150	ι γ]	εκ[υ]λλαγ[	M. GAVIVS SQVILLA GALLICANVS
151	ι δ]	σεξτουκ[	SEX. QVINTILIVS CONDIANVS
152	ι ε]	ατιλλιου[	M' ACILIVS GLABRIO
153	ι ς]	βρουττιουπ[	C. BRVTIVS PRAESENS
154	ι ζ]	λουκιου[	L. AELIVS AVRELIVS COMMODVS
155	ι η]	γαιου[	C. IVLIVS SEVERVS
156	ι θ]	λουκιου[	M. CEIONIVS SILVANVS
157	κ]	μαρ[κου	M. CEIONIVS CIVICA BARBARVS
158	κ] α	σεξτου[	SEX. SVLPICIVS TERTVLLVS
159	κ] β	π[λαυτιου	PLAVTIVS QVINTILLVS

(Read by C.H.Roberts)

Some Christian Papyri of the Berlin Collection

Kurt Treu, Berlin

For several years now I have been working on the Christian texts in the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (DDR). The main results were published in a series of articles in "Archiv für Papyrusforschung": "Neue neutestamentliche Fragmente" in vol. 18, 1966, "Neue Berliner Septuagintafragmente" in vol. 20, 1970, "Neue Berliner liturgische Papyri" in vol. 21, 1971. Individual texts and smaller groups of texts have appeared at different occasions. At the 10th International Congress of Papyrologists in Warsaw 1961 I presented a fragment of Genesis with a somewhat excentric text. In the papers of the Fifth International Conference on Patristic Studies at Oxford 1967 I published three fragments with nomina sacra, one of which was subsequently identified by C. H. Roberts as belonging to the Gospel of John. The papers of the Fourth International Congress on New Testament Studies at Oxford 1969 include a papyrus letter with quotations from St. Paul concerning what appears to be the fatal illness of Abba Petronius, first successor of Pachomius.

The texts I want to present here will be published in "Archiv für Papyrusforschung" vol. 24 under the vague title of "Varia christiana". Biblical texts are a well defined group and normally easy to identify, even when minor fragments. Patristic authors known by name are another clear-cut group. But, unlike the great number of Biblical texts, this group is surprisingly small. Large finds like the Tura Papyri of Origen and Didymus the Blind are a rare exception. A vast majority among the non-Biblical Papyri are texts by unknown authors, of semi-literary or sub-literary character. The term 'liturgical' would describe many of them, if we take it wide enough to include 'Liturgiae, preces, hymni' (to quote the title of the collection by del Gran-

de) and neglect the distinction between official and private worship. Technically, such texts are normally not books (or parts of books) but individual pieces, whether written on both sides or on one side only. The hands are usually unexperienced and difficult to date, the spelling is often enough atrocious. Another problem is the lack of scholarly aids. For Biblical texts we have full word indexes. For Patristic authors there is now the Patristic Greek Lexicon by G. W. H. Lampe, Oxford 1968, which f.i. made it easy for me to identify a fragment from the Shepherd of Hermas. But unlike its elder counterpart, the Liddell-Scott-Jones, the 'Lampe' does not take account of papyri nor, indeed, of liturgical texts in general unless they are incorporated in literary works such as the Apostolic Constitutions. So it is not easy to find out whether a fragment belongs to a known work. Moreover, even to collect relevant parallels for language and thought of such texts requires extensive research.

Another problem is the wider context of these Varia. A scrap from a book, whether roll or codex, usually gives some clues to the character of the complete original manuscript. With non-book fragments it is usually hard to say how the complete piece was made up. And even when we have a piece that is complete in itself, there remains the broader question of purpose: what was it produced for and how was it used?

The five items I want to discuss here are all from the Byzantine period and all not part of books, though containing more or less literary texts.

The first one is a piece of limestone inscribed on both sides with the complete 'Great Doxology' followed by an intercalated Trishagion. This is remarkable by the fact that it is one of the earliest acquisitions of the Berlin collection. It was acquired in 1859 from Dr. Brugsch and has the very low inventory number P. 364. So it has been over a century in the museum - complete and not too difficult to read - without finding an

editor. One of the reasons for this neglect may be the fact that, being a stone, P. 364 was kept separate from the papyri. I was unaware of its existence when I published a fragmentary papyrus of the same Doxology in Archiv vol. 21.

Two papyrus fragments belong to that group of Christian texts where Biblical quotations are the most obvious, and often the only clear feature. They remind us of the fact that Biblical language and thought permeate more or less completely all ancient Christian writings. So it is useful, even after finding out that a fragment is not Biblical, to check up systematically on the degree of its dependence on Biblical phraseology.

One piece, P. 2791, contains quite a series of Psalms quotations, Ps. 115, 5.6.9 and 22,1.3. The Psalms are, of course, by far the most widely represented book of the Bible. Many of the Psalms fragments published along with other Biblical texts are not part of books but separate pieces copied for individual use. Also popular were the other books of Old Testament poetical wisdom. A witness to this fact is P. 6776 with a quotation of Proverbs 6,9-10. Both papyri are too fragmentary to allow more than a guess about the character of the texts. Both are written on one side only. So they can hardly be parts of extensive commentaries or even homilies. P. 6776, preserving only up to 15 letters to a line, seems to have had lines of about 55 letters of considerable size and so about 30 cm. long. With a codex, this would make for a still greater height of the leaf. But in a separate piece also an oblong format is possible so that we can say nothing about the length of the composition.

I have been in touch with the Strasbourg centre for Patristic Biblical quotations to find out whether their files could give me a clue to the origin of these texts. The work is in an early stage, and so conclusions *e silentio* are not possible. But even so one can have a general idea whether a particular quotation belongs to the more popular ones or deserves special attention.

Also, the context of Patristic quotations might help to form a clearer idea about the possible context in papyri.

The next papyrus, P. 16595, is written on both sides but still not from a codex, it would seem. Here again we have a Biblical base, this time used for a hymnic text. The recto side deals with the baptism of Jesus and paraphrases words of the Baptist according to St. John's Gospel. The verso side paraphrases and quotes Exodus 15, 20-21. The passing of the Red Sea is regarded as one of the foreshadowings or typos of Christian baptism, and so it is probable that both sides belong to a Theophany hymn. I have taken the central event first and the Old Testament typos as an additional illustration, but one cannot be sure that this was indeed the order intended by the author. There is one interesting peculiarity in this text: many of the vowels are duplicated, so f.i. the first and the last one in the name of the Baptist, Ιωαννης . This is obviously an indication that the text was to be sung or recited in an elaborate way with modulations for many syllables.

After these glimpses of texts to be presented in full elsewhere, let me conclude by quoting in extenso P. 13232. This is a small but complete papyrus leaf with only three short lines of writing. It is preceded by a cross and looks like a Christian counterpart to the traditional oracular responses. We might guess that somebody has experienced a disappointment that is eating away his soul. Now he is comforted: Do not hurt your soul. What has happened is from God.

+ Μη βλάβης την
ψυχην σου, εν θεου
γαρ το γενόμενον.

EARLY PAPYRUS CODICES OF LARGE SIZE

by E. G. Turner

I wish to address myself to a limited but important feature of early papyrus codices - namely the little appreciated fact that they are frequently fairly large in size. I may take as starting point a sentence in the printed version of my Marburg paper (Munchener Beiträge Heft 66, 'Akten d. XIII. int. Papyrologenkongr.', p.438 "Corrections"): "I have now assembled adequate evidence to show that papyrus codices of early date could be of large format."

It came as a surprise to myself to find this was so (as may be seen from footnote 3 to p.429). Like other scholars of my generation I had been brought up on the observations set out by W. Schubart in Das Buch²: (p.131) "To bring the measurements of codices into order, one must give first place to the aspect natural to the codex, namely the proportion of breadth to height. From this there results in the first place a group, whose measurements are equal or approximately so... a contrast is provided by a format in which the breadth is about half the height... (p.133) As far as my knowledge goes, this first and second classes of formats seem to be of fairly considerable age... From the mere fact that the characteristics of early handwriting strikingly often coincide with approximate equality of breadth and height or with extreme differences between these two dimensions, these two formats may belong to a period down to and including the fourth century. In this same period, in spite of a great diversity of formats, a predominance of small formats is also to be observed. By way of contrast I believe I can recognize an increase in large formats from the fifth century on".

Here is a list of some papyrus codices which I should assign to the second or third centuries after Christ, about which there is some evidence for size: this evidence is rarely direct, that is, consisting of dimensions which can be measured in codices which survive intact (those are the very rare examples without square brackets); usually the information is won by combination, by calculating sizes from the number of lines to a page each can be shown to have held. In giving these dimensions B(readth) precedes H(eight).

Date	Reference	Content	No. of lines to page	Dimensions
cent.				
ii A.D.	P.Oxy. ined.	Plato, <i>Repub.</i>	[51]	-
	P.Oxy. iv 697	Xenophon, <i>Cyropaedia</i>	[60]	12.5 x [33.1]
	P.Köln	Lollianus, <i>Phoenikika</i>	[59+]	[25/20 x 40/35]
	PSI ii 147	Pindar, <i>Paeans</i>	[43-4]	[22 x 32]
ii/iii	B. Berol. 13236 (Pack ² 1516)	Thucydides (2 cols. per page)	[60]	[17 x 32]
	P. Ant. iii 162	<i>Iliad</i>	[51]	-
iii	PSI vi 720	Aristophanes	[56]	[11 x 29]
	P. Lit. Lond. 126	Demosthenes	[60]	[14 x 30]
	P. Oxy. vi 873	Hesiod, <i>Theogony</i>	[63]	[x 36+]
	P. Oxy. xxxii 2647	Hesiod, <i>Theogony</i>	[58-61]	-
	P. Lond. 126 (Harris Homer)	<i>Iliad</i> ii-iv	48-54	13 x 29.5
	P. Merton i 3	<i>Iliad</i>	[54]	13.7 x [32.5]
	PSI xi 1169	<i>Iliad</i>	[59]	15 x [29]
	P. Flor. ii 110	<i>Iliad</i>	[63-65]	[x 39]
	PSI ii 140	<i>Iliad</i>	[63]	[15 x 28]
	MPER i no. 4	Pastoral Poetry	[48-49]*	[20 x 33.5]*
	P. Ant. ii 85 + ii 213	Plutarch	[40+]	[21 x 36/35]
	P. Oxy. ined.	Thucydides i 99-102 (2 cols. per page)	55	[18/19 x 34]
	P. Gen. 2 + P. Ryl. iii 548	Thucydides ii (2 cols. per page)	[48-50]	-
	P. Ryl. iii 529	Surgical Treatise (2 cols. per page)	50	[15.6 x 28]
<u>Biblical papyrus codices</u>				
? iii (EGT)	Chester Beatty VI	Numbers, Deuteronomy (2 cols. per page)	31-38	[19/18 x 33]
" "	Ch. B. IX-X	Daniel, Esther, etc.	45-57	12.4 x 34.8
" "	P. Ant. i 9	Proverbs	[?40]	[18 x 35 ed.]
" "	P. Oxy. xxiv 2383	St. Luke	[?48-50]	[13/12 x 33]
<u>Parchment codices holding 50 lines</u>				
None till Codex Alexandrinus				

* Calculated from the stichometric figure 48-9.

This list offers examples of 24 papyrus codices which have either 50 or more lines to the page, or are at least 28 cm. high (many are much taller than this). The size (height especially) has of course usually been calculated from the number of lines per page. Often there is only a slight indication of the heights of the upper and lower margins.

The significance of this evidence will be plainer when it is contrasted with three additional sets of figures:

(1) The relatively small number of 2nd and 3rd century papyrus codices which are roughly 'square', i.e. in which breadth and height are equal. In my latest review of what in the Marburg *Akten* I called 'Group 9' I have a total of 6-9 examples of this type and of this date which are on papyrus. The archetypal examples would be P. Bodmer II of St. John (P.66), 14.2B x 16.2H; the Paris Philo (Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. 1120, MIFAO 9, 1893), 16.5 x 17.8; the Oxyrhynchus Philo (P. Oxy. ix 1173 + xi 1353 + xviii 2158 + P. Haun. i 8 + PSI xi 1207), 15 x 17.5; the Paris St. Luke from Akhmim (P4, see *Revue Biblique* 47 (1938) 1), 13.5 x 17.

(2) The complete absence until the fourth century at the earliest of any codices of parchment of the large size shown to be common among early papyrus codices. Of course there are relatively few parchment codices surviving which can be assigned to the 2nd or 3rd centuries after Christ. It is not till the 4th century that parchment manuscripts begin to be common. I count 19 examples which I am willing to assign to the second or third centuries. The highest number of lines found in any of these is 36, namely in the British Museum Demosthenes (Add. MS. 34473(1)), which survives intact and measures no more than 16.5B x 19H. The largest size found is that of:

P. Ant. i 27 Demosthenes 27-28 lines 17.8 x 22
(2 cols. per page)

Duke Univ. G5 Plato, *Parmenides* [29 lines] [19 x 24]
(GRBS 12 (1971) 539) (2 cols. per page)

(actually I am not myself willing to date this last MS as early!).

(3) The practically complete absence from the lists of papyrus codices of a format c. 9/10B x 9/12H, and the very small number of miniature papyrus codices (10) compared with miniature parchment codices (36). The format 9/10B x 9/12H is common in parchment manuscripts from the fourth century onwards. There are absolutely no papyrus manuscripts of this size.

Let me re-state the position that we have reached. It is not that a papyrus codex of early date may not be of a squarish format, in absolute dimensions say 14 x 16 cm. It is that it is more likely to be very much bigger: not merely for its height to be twice its breadth, but for it to be nearly 3 times its breadth: and for the height to be very great indeed.

We can in fact now see that Schubart's generalisation "In the early period a predominance of small formats is to be observed" was based on putting together codices of papyrus and parchment. It is true of c. iv parchment codices. It will be salutary in future to keep papyrus and parchment apart in our investigations, and to realize that we have been misled into thinking all early codices are likely to be of small size.

I should like to draw two lessons. The first is that observation of the absolute heights of papyrus rolls should have warned us against accepting Schubart's generalisation. But, alas!, both Schubart and Kenyon have told us that it is a waste of time tabulating absolute formats in papyrus rolls. On the contrary, it is a priority task awaiting an investigator. Let me offer two examples only of tall literary rolls with many lines to the column that look to be good working copies (as no doubt our codices were), not luxury texts:

(a) P.Oxy. vi 852, Euripides, Hypsipyle, c. A.D. 200, 36 cm. high, the column often having 60 lines of text.

(b) A roll of Hesiod, Erga, among P.Oxy. ined. to be published by Dr. M.L. West - 2nd cent., probably 31-plus cm. high, 56 lines to the column.

The second lesson is this. Influenced by Schubart, we have tended to think that papyrus codices of large format are imitations of parchment codices of large format. The truth, I suggest, is the other way round. As I have indicated, there are no parchment codices of large format until the fourth century after Christ. We have found 24 examples on papyrus before the fourth century. It looks as though, when parchment at last came into abundant use in c. iv, there was conscious imitation of the large papyrus codex. Let us apply this 'discovery' to the chronological problems surrounding the Ilias Ambrosiana. Since parchment codices of large format are not recorded before the fourth century, the Ilias Ambrosiana, the size of which has been calculated by R. Bianchi Bandinelli at c. 29 x 32 cm., is not to be dated earlier than the fourth century. We must in consequence refuse to accept the results of morphological analysis of its script, which has been held to point to a date in the 3rd century. Some features in its handwriting must therefore be due to deliberately archaic stylization by the scribe. It may therefore be later than the fourth century if we can find a period when such archaism was deliberately cultivated.

Fritz Uebel, Jena

Am 10. April des Jahres 257 v.u.Z. richtete der Grieche Numenios, ein Untergebener des Diöketen Apollonios, an den damals noch nicht im Faijûm ansässigen Zenon, der ihren gemeinsamen Chef gerade auf einer Dienstreise begleitete, die Anfrage, an welchem Ort Apollonios den Geburtstag des Königs zu feiern gedächte und an welchem Tag nach Rechnung der Ägypter das hierbei vorgesehene Opfer stattfinden werde¹⁾. Der Brief ist auf den 17. Mechir des 29. Jahres datiert; Zenons Büro registrierte den Eingang des Schreibens in Memphis am 20. Dystros des 28. Jahres, also erst einige Tage nach dem Königsgeburtstag²⁾. Zur Differenz der Jahreszahlen 28 und 29 wird später noch etwas zu sagen sein.

Bezeichnend ist der Wunsch des Numenios, gerade das ägyptische Datum der Feierlichkeit zu erfahren. Seine gesamte Zeiteinteilung basierte zweifellos auf dem ägyptischen Kalender; an einer Mitteilung des makedonischen Datums war ihm nichts gelegen. Zenon dagegen - bzw. Zenons Büroschreiber - verwendete, solange er sich noch nicht in Philadelphia niedergelassen hatte, als Abfassungsdaten eigener und als Empfangsdaten fremder Briefe fast ausschliesslich makedonische Monatsnamen, er richtete sich zu dieser Zeit durchweg nach dem makedonischen Kalender. Dass er damit die Gepflogenheiten des alexandrischen Hofes teilte, bedarf keiner besonderen Begründung, und dass andererseits Numenios (wie ueberwiegend die Griechen der Chora) vor den Schwierigkeiten des Ganges des makedonischen Kalenders kapitulierte hatte und statt dessen den einfacheren ägyptischen Kalender bevorzugte, liegt ebenfalls auf der Hand. Das Diöketenbüro schliesslich nahm bei der Datierung seiner Schreiben Rücksicht sowohl auf Adressaten wie Zenon als auch auf solche wie Numenios: Es gebrauchte häufig makedonisch-ägyptische Doppeldaten, d.h. ein Paar unterschiedlicher Monatsnamen und Tagesdaten, doch nie verbunden mit einem Paar unterschiedlicher Jahreszahlen, sonder immer nur mit einer einzigen Jahreszahl, unzweifelhaft derjenigen des makedonischen Königsjahres.

Und doch konnte derselbe Tag in zwei verschiedene Jahre fallen, je nachdem man nach makedonischen Königsjahren zählte, die zu jener Zeit - zunächst nur allgemein gesagt - von Ende Dystros bis Ende Dystros liefern, oder nach ägyptischen Königsjahren, gleichlaufend mit dem ägyptischen Kalenderjahr, oder nach Finanzjahren, die, nicht ganz präzise formuliert, spätestens von Anfang Mechir bis gegen Ende Tybi anzusetzen sind.

Diese Arten der Jahreszählung sollen uns hier beschäftigen. Von den beiden Kategorien von Doppeldaten, in die man zweckmässigerweise differenziert, den Doppelmonats- und Doppeljahresdaten, geben nur die letzteren für unser Problem etwas her³⁾. Da bei einer Jahreszahl neben einem makedonischen Monats- und Tagesdatum am Zugrundeliegen der makedonischen Königsjahreszählung zu zweifeln kaum Anlass besteht und ebensowenig am Zugrundeliegen der ägyptischen Königsjahreszählung in normalen demotischen Datierungen, so lautet, leicht reduziert, die zu beantwortende Frage: Welcher Jahreszählweise folgen die Jahresangaben griechischer Urkunden (Urkunden im weitesten Sinn) mit ägyptischem Monats- und Tagesdatum? und: Welches sind die Jahreszählweisen demotischer Doppeljahresdaten? Auf die Zeit des Philadelphos - genauer: auf die späteren Jahre dieses Herrschers - müssen wir uns hierbei deshalb beschränken, weil nur für sie die Art des Parallellaufes des makedonischen und des ägyptischen Kalenders hinlänglich bekannt ist, nicht zuletzt dank theoretischer Untermauerung vorher empirisch gewonnener Relationen durch A.E. Samuels Ptolemaic Chronology⁴⁾, und innerhalb der genannten Zeit wiederum besitzt das Zenonarchiv den Vorzug besonderer Aussagekraft; nur selten wird über dieses Archiv hinauszugreifen sein.

Unsere Kenntnis der Kalenderrelationen im angegebenen Zeitraum befähigt uns, das ägyptische Königsjahr ebenso wie das im ägyptischen Kalender angesiedelte, doch mit anderem Neujahrstag beginnende Finanzjahr mit dem makedonischen Königsjahr zu synchronisieren. Der Beginn einer solchen Synchronisationstabelle sieht für die fragliche Zeit unter hypothetischem Ansatz des 1. Mechir als Finanzjahresbeginnes nach der communis opinio⁵⁾ und des 24. Dystros als makedonischen Neujahrstages sowie seines julianischen Äquivalents nach Samuel⁵⁾ folgendermassen aus:

Beginn des 26. Finanzjahres:

1. Mechir (=18/19.Peritios embolimos) = 26.3.260^a

↑
Zeitspanne A

Beginn des 26. makedonischen Jahres:

(6./7.Phamenoth =) 24.Dystros = 30.4./1.5.260^a

↑
Zeitspanne B

↓
Beginn des 26. ägyptischen Jahres:

1.Thoth (= 26./27.Gorpiaios) = 27.10.260^a

↑
Zeitspanne C

↓
Beginn des 27. Finanzjahres:

1.Mechir (= 29./30.Peritios) = 26.3.259^a

Beginn des 27. makedonischen Jahres:

(25./26.Mechir =) 24.Dystros = 19./20.4.259^a

Beginn des 27. ägyptischen Jahres:

1.Thoth (= 7./8.Hyperberetaios) = 27.10.259^a

usw. bis 39.Jahr.

Diese Tabelle zeigt, dass eine beliebige der späteren Regierungsjahreszahlen des Philadelphos zuerst vom Finanzjahr erreicht wurde. In der kurzen Zeitspanne bis zum Beginn des zifferngleichen makedonischen Königsjahres wird diese Jahreszahl allein vom Finanzjahr geführt, während die beiden anderen Rechnungsweisen um eine Einheit dahinter zurückbleiben. Diesen Kalenderbereich nenne ich "Zeitspanne A". In den daraus stammenden Zeugnissen für Doppeljahresdaten impliziert, wenn in ihnen zwei verschiedene Jahreszahlen begegnen, die höhere Jahreszahl mit Sicherheit die Finanzjahreszählung. Vom makedonischen Neujahrstag ab laufen mehrere Monate lang, bis zum 5.Epagomenentag, die gleichen Jahreszahlen für das makedonische und das Finanzjahr parallel, wogegen das ägyptische Königsjahr noch um eine Einheit niedriger ist. Das ist meine "Zeitspanne B". In den Zeugnissen aus dieser Zeitspanne ist beim Vorhandensein zweier unterschiedlicher Jahreszahlen die niedrigere sicher diejenige des ägyptischen Königsjahres. Zwischen dem 1. Thoth und dem Beginn des nächsten Finanzjahres endlich, in der "Zeitspanne C", ergeben alle drei Jahreszählweisen dieselbe Zahl.

An der Tabelle alle aussagefähigen Belege zu messen - ein Verfahren, das schon 1934 Hellmut Frank anwandte⁶⁾ - , das verbietet die Kürze der Zeit, es kann nur exemplifiziert werden. Als Ausgangspunkt eignet sich P.dem.Zen.3⁷⁾, eine bilingue Quittung in Form einer griechischen Doppelurkunde nebst zusätzlicher demotischer Fassung. Zwei Angestellte der königlichen Olmonopolverwaltung bestätigen darin dem Beauftragten des Dorea-Verwalters Zenon eine Rizinuslieferung. Im Demotischen lautet die Datierung "Im Jahr 33, welches das 34.Jahr ist, im 2.Monat des Winters (d.i.Mechir) am 22.Tage", im Griechischen Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Σωτήρος (ἔτους) (τετάρτου καὶ τριακοστοῦ) μηνὸς Μεχίρ (δευτέρας καὶ εἰκοστῆς). Wegen der Zugehörigkeit zur Zeitspanne A kann hier mit dem 34.Jahr im griechischen und demotischen Text nichts anderes als das Finanzjahr gemeint sein; unter dem 33.Jahr der demotischen Gleichung ist natürlich das ägyptische Königsjahr zu verstehen. Unser Beispiel zeigt, dass das Finanzjahr - nicht, wie Samuel meinte⁸⁾, das makedonische Königsjahr - in demotischen Urkunden Eingang gefunden hat, dass es aber auch

in gewissen griechischen Urkunden eine offizielle Zahlweise ist und - was Samuel bestritt⁹⁾ - mit der Formel βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου verbunden sein kann.

Niemand wird es verwunderlich finden, dass griechische Quittungen, wenn sie wie das angeführte Beispiel einem Zweig der ptolemäischen Finanzverwaltung entstammen, nach dem Finanzjahr rechnen. Doch auch einige Abrechnungen des Zenonarchivs, freilich keinesfalls alle, machen von dieser Rechnungsweise Gebrauch, so sicher die Lohnzahlungsliste PCZ 59296, ferner mit voller Sicherheit PSI VI 583, PCZ 59292 und 59293 sowie sehr wahrscheinlich PCZ 59772, PSI IV 386 und 388, alles abrechnungsartige Urkunden über Getreidelieferungen, Geldsteuern und Zahlungen besonders auf dem Gebiet der Schaf- und Ziegenpacht, einem Gebiet, dessen Geldposten teils ausdrücklich¹⁰⁾, teils nur vermittellich¹¹⁾ Beträge der ἐνόμιον-Steuer darstellen. Vor allzu rigorosen Verallgemeinerungen aus diesem Befund muss man sich jedoch hüten: Der im Griechischen nicht ganz taktfeste, also wohl ägyptische Schreiber von PSI IV 368, wiederum einer Abrechnung über ἐνόμιον-Beträge für Schafe und Ziegen, rechnet sicherlich nicht nach dem Finanzjahr; ob nach dem makedonischen oder - vielleicht eher - nach dem ägyptischen Königsjahr, bleibt offen. Gelegentlich schlagen sich in derselben Abrechnungsliste zwei oder sogar alle drei Jahreszahlweisen nieder, dann nämlich, wenn die Zahlweise des Listenschreibers von derjenigen der von ihm verwerteten Urkunden abweicht, ohne dass er sich der Mühe der Umrechnung unterzogen hätte¹²⁾. Die makedonische Königsjahrzahlung findet sich hier häufig, dagegen lässt sich die ägyptische Königsjahrzahlung in Abrechnungen des Zenonarchivs (und ebenso in allen übrigen Urkundengattungen desselben) kaum einmal wirklich nachweisen¹³⁾, ausser natürlich in den Demotica der Zenonpapyri.

Griechische Vertragsurkunden des Archivs werden - das sei ganz kurz abgehandelt - fast ausnahmslos nach dem makedonischen Königsjahr datiert, vor allem da, wo das eponyme Priesterpaar genannt wird¹⁴⁾. Die Daten eines Vertrags aus dem Fiskalbereich der Steuerpacht hingegen, PSI V 509, wo wiederum die ἐνόμιον-Steuer im Spiel ist, rechnen höchstwahrscheinlich nach dem Finanzjahr, und das trotz Gebrauchs der Priesterformel im Präskript, die allerdings mit der Formulierung ἐφ' ἑρέως τοῦ ὄντος bzw. κανηφόρου - - τῆς οὐχὸς auf die Namensnennung des Eponymenpaares verzichtet¹⁵⁾.

Für die Jahreszahlweise in Briefdatierungen liefert uns die Schatzgrube des Zenonarchivs zahlreiche dem gewünschten Zweck dienstbare Zeugnisse vor allem da, wo zwei Daten gegenseitigen Bezugs, meistens das Briefdatum einer-, das Briefeingangsdatum andererseits, unter jedesmaliger Jahresangabe unterschiedliche Monatsbezeichnungen enthalten, einmal eine ägyptische, einmal eine makedonische bzw. ein makedonisch-ägyptisches Doppeldatum, gelegentlich auch in Zeitspanne B zwei ägyptische Monatsbezeichnungen, deren Folge den Gebrauch des ägyptischen Jahres ausschliesst¹⁶⁾.

Ganz überwiegend weisen solche indirekte Doppeljahresdaten im Zenonarchiv aus allen drei Zeitspannen jeweils zweimal dieselbe Jahreszahl auf. Nachweisbar sind aus der Zeitspanne A mindestens 11 Fälle¹⁷⁾, aus der Zeitspanne B mindestens 28 Fälle¹⁸⁾. Hier ist innerhalb der Zeitspanne A mit Sicherheit das Finanzjahr ausgeschlossen, innerhalb der Zeitspanne B ebenso sicher das ägyptische Jahr. Im Ganzen gesehen drängt sich nahezu zwingend der Schluss auf, dass hier auch neben den ägyptischen Monats- und Tagesdaten immer das makedonische Königsjahr steht, zumal weil unter den vielen Korrespondenten Zenons, die so zu datieren pflegen - Griechen und auch griechischschreibenden Ägyptern¹⁹⁾ -, drei in beiden Zeitspannen vertreten sind. Der Schreiber des PCZ I 59132, Mys, datierte diesen Brief, den Zenon am 1. Dystros = 1. Phamenoth des 29. makedonischen Jahres erhielt, auf den 30. Mechir des 29. Jahres; dieses Jahr war in der Zeitspanne A bestimmt nicht das Finanzjahr. Im Brief PCZ II 59147 aber, der bei Zenon am 19. Daisios = 19. Payni des 30. makedonischen Jahres einging, rechnete in der Zeitspanne B Mys mit seinem Datum "15. Payni des 30. Jahres" sicher nicht nach dem ägyptischen Jahr. Er wird sich beide Male derselben Zahlweise bedient haben, folglich des makedonischen Königsjahres. Das Gleiche gilt für den Antigraphus Apollonides²⁰⁾ und für Nikon²¹⁾.

Endlich Zenon selbst: Wie schon gesagt, entnahm er vor seinem ständigen Aufenthalt im Faijûm, d.h. vor dem Ende des 29. makedonischen Jahres, seine Jahres-, Monats- und Tagesdaten bis auf einen nicht ganz sicher ihm selbst zuweisbaren Fall²²⁾ ausschliesslich dem makedonischen Kalender. In dem Masse, wie sich seine Verbindungen zur Chora verstärkten, ging er zum Gebrauch ägyptischer Monatsnamen bzw. makedonisch-ägyptischer Doppelmonatsdaten über, welche anfangs die richtigen Relationen beider Kalender aufwiesen. Richtig waren im 29. Jahr auch Zenons "direkt equations" (wie Samuel die Doppelmonatsdaten gleicher Tagesziffer nennt), aber schon in den ersten Monaten des 30. Jahres wurden seine Gleichungen dadurch, dass er an diesen direct equations (sowie etwas später an einer anderen Tagesgleichungsmethode) über ihren Geltungszeitraum hinaus schematisch festhielt, fehlerhaft und blieben es seitdem. Von den offiziellen Doppelmonatsdaten des Diöketenbüros liess er sich eines Besseren nicht belehren; z.B. lautet sein Eingangsdatum eines am 16. Loos = 13. Mesore des 30. Jahres geschriebenen Diöketenbriefes²³⁾ "14. (f) Loos = 14. Mesore". Zenon wird sich seiner wachsenden Unkenntnis bald selbst bewusst geworden sein: Er verwendete nach dem 18. Mesore des 31. Jahres, den er falsch mit dem 28. Loos glich²⁴⁾, in Briefeingangsdatierungen nur noch ägyptische Monatsnamen und stand nun auf der Stufe des Numenios in unserem Eingangsbeispiel. Lediglich in seinen Vertragsdatierungen tauchen auch später noch neben den ägyptischen Monatsnamen makedonische

auf²⁵⁾, gewiss nur von dekorativem Wert und ohne dass Zenon zu den wahren Kalenderrelationen zurückgefunden hätte. Hilfsmittel von der Art des 7. Jahrzehnte jüngeren Parapegma P. Ryl. IV 589 scheinen ihm wie auch dem Numenios nicht zur Verfügung gestanden zu haben.

Zenons nachweisbare Unkenntnis der Relationen seit dem Beginn des 30. Jahres beraubt uns eines sicheren Kriteriums in der Bestimmung des Neujahrstages makedonischer Königsjahre des Philadelphos an Hand der Briefe PCZ II 59202-204 von der Wende des 31. zum 32. Jahr²⁶⁾.

An dieser Stelle wäre ein Exkurs über den Neujahrstag auch des Finanzjahres angebracht, hier kann jedoch nur kurz resümiert werden. Dieser Tag lag - zumindest gegen Ende der Zeit des Philadelphos laut P. Petr. III 109 vom 36./37. Jahr - mit Sicherheit zwischen dem 26. Tybi als frühestmöglichem und dem 4. Mechir als spätestmöglichem Termin²⁷⁾, vielleicht, je nach Jahreszählweise in der Pariser Holztafel UPZ 153, erst nach dem 26. Tybi; doch jedenfalls sprechen einige demotische Doppeljahresdaten aus der Zeit Euergetes' I.²⁸⁾ für einen Ansatz noch im Tybi. Wenn, worauf schon Frank in seinen an einer Stelle fehlerhaften Ausführungen²⁹⁾ hinwies, etliche Zenonpapyri als ersten Monat eines neuen Jahres, welches nach Lage der Dinge nur das Finanzjahr sein kann, den Mechir erweisen, so spricht diese unbestreitbare Tatsache nicht gegen einen Neujahrstag schon im Tybi. Auch das makedonische Königsjahr lag unter Philadelphos sicher in den letzten Tagen des Dystros - die Ansätze schwanken zwischen dem unhaltbaren 24. (so Samuel)³⁰⁾, dem derzeit favorisierten 25.³¹⁾ und dem 27. Dystros³²⁾ -, und trotzdem gilt in einigen Urkunden³³⁾ als erster Monat des neuen Jahres der Xandikos. Damit ist eben lediglich der erste für Rechnungszwecke voll zählende Monat bezeichnet, ohne dass das den Jahresbeginn schon im Laufe des Vormonats ausschliesse.

Zurück zu den Briefdatierungen des Zenonarchivs. Zenon selbst führte auch nach seiner Flucht in den ägyptischen Kalender die makedonische Jahreszählung weiter; das kann ausser an seinen Vertragsdatierungen auch an seinen auf ägyptische Monate gestellten Empfangsdaten etlicher makedonisch datierter Briefe³⁴⁾ in derselben Weise aufgezeigt werden, wie es vorhin für Mys geschah.

Makedonisches Königsjahr auch neben ägyptischen Monats- und Tagesdatierungen - dieses Gesamtbild der Briefe des Zenonarchivs unterbrechen nur wenige Ausnahmen, darunter der eingangs besprochene Brief des Numenios. Hier, in der Zeitspanne A, muss der höheren Jahreszahl des Briefdatums die Finanzjahrrechnung zugrundeliegen. Numenios mag im Finanzwesen, etwa als Gauökonom, tätig gewesen sein. Dieselbe Rechnungsweise dürfte auch in einer Briefdatierung des Gauökonomens Hermolaos³⁵⁾, in einer solchen des Iason³⁶⁾ und in zwei Briefen des Trapeziten Promethion³⁷⁾ vorliegen.

Nichts Definitives kann über die Jahreszählweise des Vorgängers Zenons in Philadelphia, Panakestors, ausgesagt werden, ausser, dass er Kontrahent der vorhin erwähnten, auf das Finanzjahr gestellten Vertragsurkunde PSI V 509 war und dass er zwar anders, als es zeitweise Zenon tat, nur ägyptische Monatsnamen anwandte, aber wie dieser bestimmt nicht die ägyptische Königsjahrzählung. Das ergibt sich aus seinen Datierungen von Briefen und Quittungen, darunter noch unedierte Giessener Zenonpapyri.

Gegen Edgar zahle ich Zenons Empfangsdatum eines von zwei Briefen des Bootssteuerermannes Paris, P. Mich. Zen. 60, nicht unter die Finanzjahresbelege. Überhaupt ist zu konstatieren, dass der Finanzjahrgebrauch nicht ganz so häufig war, wie ihn Edgar annahm³⁸⁾, aber doch wesentlich häufiger, als Samuel in seiner Ptolemaic Chronology ihn einschätzte. Edgars Skepsis gegen die Anwendung des ägyptischen Königsjahres durch griechische Zeitgenossen Zenons teile ich jedoch durchaus.

Im Kalenderegebrauch der Generation Zenons - an Zenon selbst lässt es sich verfolgen - konkurrierten nationales Traditionsgefühl der Griechen und praktische Nützlichkeit des enchorischen Kalenders miteinander. Das zur Selbstberuhigung der Griechen als griechische Einrichtung geltende Finanzjahr war eine Zeitlang eine Kompromisslösung, die Kombination ägyptischer Monatsrechnung mit makedonischen Königsjahren war eine andere, und demgegenüber hatte die rein ägyptische Rechnungsweise unter Zenons griechischen Zeitgenossen, wenigstens innerhalb seines Bekanntenkreises, noch kaum Anhänger. Ob im Einzelfall einer Datierung ohne Doppeljahresdatum makedonische Königsjahr - oder Finanzjahrzählung vorliegt, das zu entscheiden besitzen wir keine Patentlösung. Von den besonderen Problemen in Abrechnungen einmal abgesehen, scheint für die Wahl einer der beiden im Zenonarchiv favorisierten Zählweisen der Sachinhalt der Urkunden massgebend gewesen zu sein oder eher noch die Amtsfunktion des Datierenden im oder ausserhalb des Fiskus, die seine dienstliche und private Kalenderrechnung beeinflusste.

Die skizzierten Ergebnisse aus den aufschlussreichen Zenonpapyri sollten auch ausserhalb dieses Archivs bei der Umrechnung griechischer Urkundendatierungen mit ägyptischen Monaten in julianische Daten nicht ganz ausser Acht gelassen werden; Skeats prächtige Tabelle liefert für die vorstehend behandelte Zeit nur in der Zeitspanne C uneingeschränkt richtige Werte. Aber freilich repräsentieren die Zenonpapyri nicht notwendig das ganze Ägypten ihrer Zeit.

Seit Epiphanes hat sich die volle Anwendung des ägyptischen Kalenders einschliesslich der ägyptischen Königsjahr- und Priester-

amtsjahrzahlung bei den Griechen des Nillands durchgesetzt; das Finanzjahr, zuletzt unter Philopator nachweisbar, ist verschwunden. Leider versagt uns die Quellenlage einstweilen einen näheren Einblick in die Entwicklung der Kalenderpraxis während der für den Übergang entscheidenden unmittelbaren Folgezeit der Zenonpapyri.

Anmerkungen:

- 1) P.Ryl.IV 557 = SB 764o = P.Ryl.Zen.4 (Bull.Ryl.Libr.18 (1), 1934, 114 f.) = PCZ IV 59541, zusammengefügt aus einem Fragment in Manchester, einem in Kairo und einem in Florenz (= PSI IV 314).
- 2) Eine mittelägyptische Inschrift aus dem 18. Jahr des zweiten Ptolemäers, deren Publikation durch L.Koenen bevorsteht, erweist als Geburtstag des Philadelphos den 12. Dystros.
- 3) Beide Kategorien müssen nicht vom Schreiber einer Urkunde bewusst, als direkte Zeugnisse, notiert sein, sie können sich uns gelegentlich aus der Kombination zweier Urkunden oder zweier Stellen einer Urkunde, somit indirekt, ergeben.
- 4) Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 43.Heft, 1962.
- 5) Siehe jedoch S. 316 f.
- 6) Ein Beitrag zur Ptolemäerchronologie des III.Jahrhunderts v.Chr., APF 11, 1934, 1-56.
- 7) W.Spiegelberg, Die demotischen Urkunden des Zenon-Archivs, Demot.Stud.Heft 8, Leipzig 1929. Nr.3A = PSI IV 358, 1-10; 3B = PSI IX 1010 D Nr.1; 3C = PSI IV 358, 14 ff.; 3D = PSI IX 1010 D Nr.2.
- 8) a.O.64; Richtigstellung durch F.Uebel, Bibliotheca Orientalis 21, 1964, 313.
- 9) a.O.81f.
- 10) PSI IV 386.
- 11) PSI VI 583; PCZ II 59292.
- 12) Zu PCZ III 59327, einem typischen Fall dieser Art, s. H. Frank, a.O.18 f. Vermutlich ist auch PCZ II 59176 eine derartige Urkunde.
- 13) Auf Zugrundeliegen der ägyptischen Jahreszählung könnte die einer Abrechnung angefügte Monatsliste Thoth bis Mesore in PCZ IV 59754 deuten. Vgl. auch Franks Ausführungen (a.O.19) zu PCZ III 59327. Ob Zeitabschnitte ab Thoth bzw. bis Mesore in SB III 6797 v^o und PCZ III 59317 auf dieselbe Zahlweise schliessen lassen, ist ganz unsicher. In zwei Briefen, PCZ III 59299 und 59300 (= PSI IV 433 und 434), die bei Zenon am 6.Pachons des 36.Jahres eingingen, hat sich Euempolos mit der Jahreszahl "25" auf jeden Fall verschrieben; sollte er "35" beabsichtigt haben, so wäre damit innerhalb der Zeitspanne B das ägyptische Königsjahr gemeint. Zu PSI IV 368 s.oben.

14) Belege in chronologischer Folge: PCZ I 59001; 59133; P. Col.Zen.I 54; PCZ II 59173; 59182; 59248; PSI V 515; PCZ II 59289 (Konigseid); P.Cornell 2; PSI V 521; PCZ III 59340; Zeit des Euergetes: PSI IV 385; P.Mich.Zen.66; P.Col.Zen II 85; PSI IV 389.

15) Der in frühptolemäischer Zeit übliche Grund für die Anwendung dieser ungenauen Kurzformel, Unkenntnis der Priesternamen zu Beginn ihres Amtsjahres von seiten des Schreibers (s.dazu F.Uebel, Festschr.z.150jähr.Bestehen des Berliner Ägypt.Museums, 1974, 448 f. mit Belegen, denen noch P.Ien.Inv.904 [APF 22-23, 1974, 89-97 nebst Nachtrag APF 24] anzufügen sein dürfte), entfällt in der kurz vor dem makedonischen Jahresende abgefassten Urkunde PSI V 509. Ich zweifle nicht, dass hier als ein singulärer Grund - singulär ist auch die Verbindung der Priesterformel des Präskripts mit dem Finanzjahr - den Gebrauch der Kurzformel die Finanzjahrzahlung veranlasst hat, weil das Finanzjahr in die Amtszeit zweier Eponymenpaare fällt (vgl. die Daten in Z.4 und 15 der Urkunde).

16) PCZ II 59223; P.Mich.Zen.43.

17) PCZ I 59049; PSI V 491; P.Mich.Zen.28; PCZ I 59132; P.Col.Zen.I 34; PCZ II 59204; 59251; PSI V 514; die folgenden 3 Belege unter der Voraussetzung, dass Zenon das makedonische Jahr gebrauchte: PCZ II 59233; 59288; PSI IV 369. Ein weiterer Brief, in Zeitspanne C geschrieben und in Zeitspanne A bei Zenon eingetroffen, weist demzufolge zwei verschiedene Jahreszahlen auf, hat aber die gleiche Beweiskraft; P.Mich.Zen.13.

18) P.Mich.Zen.16; PSI V 500+501; 502; P.Col.Zen.I 15; PCZ I 59096; 59101; 59099; PSI IV 345; PCZ II 59147p 59149; P.Lond.VII 1964; P.Mich.Zen.39; SB III 7263; PCZ II 59223; 59240; P.Mich.Zen.43; 48; P.Lond.VII 1998; PSI IV 375; die folgenden 9 Belege unter der Voraussetzung, dass Zenon das makedonische Jahr gebrauchte: PSI V 512; PCZ II 59270; 59271; 59273; PSI IV 372; PCZ III 59306; 59331; PSI IV 382; V 522; zu P.Petr.II 13(11) s.S.

19) Griechischschreibende Ägypter; der Töpfer Neësis (PCZ II 59271), Horos (PSI IV 372), Petosiris (PCZ III 59306), der Schweinehirt Pemaas (PCZ III 59331), der Schiffer Pais (PSI IV 382).

20) P.Mich.Zen.13; P.Col.Zen.I 15.

21) PCZ I 59049; P.Mich.Zen.16.

22) P.Petr.II 13(11).

23) P.Ryl.IV 560.

24) PCZ II 59184.

25) PCZ II 59248; P.Cornell 2; PCZ III 59340; P.Mich.Zen.66; P.Col.Zen.II 85; PSI IV 389.

26) Diese Diöketenbriefe an Zenon, alle am 23. Dystros = 30. Phamenoth des 31. Jahres geschrieben und in Zenons Büro am 1. Pharmuthi mit den Jahreszahlen 31 (59204), 31 und 32 übereinander in Korrektur (59202) und 32 (59203) registriert, spielen in der Forschung bei der Ermittlung des Neujahrstages in Philadelphos' makedonischen Königsjahren eine grosse Rolle; Samuels These des 24. Dystros beruht in der Hauptsache auf ihnen. Bei der Argumentation wird aber meistens übersehen, dass Zenons makedonisches Äquivalent des 1. Pharmuthi, auf den er offenbar im Falle von PCZ 59203 und wohl auch 59202 diesen Neujahrstag ansetzte, uns unbekannt ist und durchaus nicht der 24. Dystros gewesen sein muss, wie schon die obige Auswahl von Fällen seiner fehlerhaften Gleichungen zeigt. Zeugnisse unverdächtigter Gleichungen, die dem Ansatz auf den 24. Dystros entgegenstehen, wiegen m.E. schwerer.

27) Der 25. Tybi ist terminus post quem laut P. Petr. III 109(a) IV 22/3, der 5. Mechir terminus ante quem laut P. Petr. III 109(b) 8. Eine Diskrepanz zwischen diesem Zeugnis für den 25. Tybi als t.p.q. und dem des P. dém. Lille 4 (38. ägypt. Jahr = 39. Finanzjahr des Philadelphos) für den 21. Tybi als t.a.q. beseitigte P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques*, 1967, 128 Anm. 8, durch eine einleuchtende Konjektur im letzteren Papyrus.

28) P. dém. Lille 35; 42; 47; 53; 54; 69; 96 + P. Sorb. I 37; P. dém. Lille 9-11; 73; 75; 76; 85. Auch P. Petr. III 72(b) = W. Chr. 242 spricht für einen Ansatz vor dem 30. Tybi.

29) In Franks Annahme, das Finanzjahr habe ursprünglich, d.h. etwa seit dem Anfang der zwanziger Jahre des Philadelphos, in der zweiten Hälfte des Tybi begonnen, sei aber dann vereinfachend auf den folgenden Monatsersten verlegt worden (a.O. 20), steckt der Widerspruch, dass das (nur vermeintliche, s. Anm. 27) Zeugnis für den älteren Zustand P. dém. Lille 4 vom 39. Finanzjahr jünger ist als der von Frank als Zeugnis des jüngeren Zustands gewertete P. Petr. III 109 vom 36./37. Finanzjahr.

30) Siehe F. Uebel, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 21, 1964, 311 f.

31) Ansatz E. Meyers (APF 2. Beiheft, 1925), von G. C. Edgar (P. Mich. Zen. S. 52) nicht ohne Bedenken übernommen; vgl. auch F. Uebel, APF 22-23, 1974, 94 zu P. Ien. Inv. 904. Neue Argumente zugunsten dieses Datums wird die oben Anm. 2 genannte Inschriftpublikation L. Koenens enthalten, die mir durch die Freundlichkeit des Autors schon vor dem Druck bekannt wurde; meine Bewertung von PCZ II 59202-204 (s. oben Anm. 26) weicht allerdings von derjenigen Koenens ab. H. Frank (a.O. 9 f.) nahm den 25. oder 26. Dystros an. Beide Daten stehen nicht im Einklang mit PCZ I 59139 (s. Anm. 32).

32) Dieses durch PCZ I 59139 empfohlene und daher von G. C. Edgar (P. Mich. Zen. S. 52) erwogene, jedoch wegen PCZ II 59209 von ihm wieder verworfene Datum glaubte ich bisher (s. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 21, 1964, 311 f.) bevorzugen zu sollen, da die uns unbekannt individuelle Gleichung des Schreibers von PCZ 59209, die Edgar seiner Entscheidung zugrunde legte, ebenso fehlerhaft sein kann, wie es Zenons Gleichungen vom 30. Jahr ab sind, so dass das rein ägyptische Monats- und Tagesdatum des PCZ 59209 für unser Problem irrelevant wird. Neue Gesichtspunkte gegen diesen Ansatz s. Anm. 31.

33) PCZ III 59332 + P. Jand. Inv. 384 Z. 7/8 (s. F. Uebel, *Kurzberichte aus den Giessener Papyrus-Sammlungen* 18, 1964, 9); 59355, 10-16 u. ö.; IV 59562, 26/7.

34) Zeitspanne A: P. Col. Zen. I 34; PCZ II 59204; 59251; PSI V 514. Zeitspanne B: P. Mich. Zen. 39; SB III 7263; PCZ II 59240; P. Mich. Zen. 48; P. Lond. VII 1998; PSI IV 375.

35) SB V 7985.

36) P. Lond. VII 2008.

37) PCZ II 59250; V 59823.

38) *Rec. Champollion*, 1922, 120; PCZ V, 1940, S. 20.

R. van Bennekom

In 1951, this scrap of papyrus was published by Mr. Lobel in vol. XXI of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. It contains, in a damaged state, the opening syllables of the first 21 lines of Sappho's famous Prayer to Aphrodite. The papyrus is located in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Recently, a good enlarged photograph of it has become available: it is in a small book by Prof. E.G. Turner, called The Papyrologist at Work, published in 1973 as Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monograph no. 6. Prof. Turner has subjected the papyrus to a careful reappraisal. His findings constitute a welcome supplement to Lobel's editio princeps, and are likely to become authoritative for the next decades; nevertheless, it seems to me that there is room for some additional remarks, especially with regard to the much-discussed crux in line 19. I have examined the papyrus myself under the supervision of Dr. Coles of the Ashmolean Museum, and had a slide made of it, of which I hope that it will give as close an idea of the original as possible.

The first thing to notice about the papyrus is its scholarly standard of accuracy. Not only does the scribe get all the difficult vocalizations of Sappho's vernacular right, he also gives some extra information: middle stops after $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ (8) and after the sigma in line 19, recessive accents on $\theta\upsilon\mu\omicron\nu$ (4) and $\sigma\rho\omicron\upsilon\theta\omicron\iota$ (10), and short signs on $\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\nu\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (11) and $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\nu$ (19), which have not yet been satisfactorily explained (see Turner, op.cit. p.35).

Furthermore, it is important to stress that the papyrus is in complete agreement, as far as it goes, with the text as read by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (De Comp. Verborum ch.23), still our chief authority for the poem. It is true that the poem is rather mishandled in the manuscripts of Dionysius, but the corruptions never go deep. The mistakes of the scribes are just the sort of mistakes that are made by someone who is scrupulously transcribing a piece of text in a relatively unfamiliar language, without knowing too well what it is about. A good example is in line 5,

where the mss. offer κατ' ἔρωτα, which does not make sense, but which clearly presupposes an original in excellent Aeolic.

It is perhaps not too wild to assume that we have in both the text of Dionysius and the papyrus the recension of Aristophanes of Byzantium, who lived only a century and a half before Dionysius. The punctuation after χρύσιον in line 8 may also stem from him, and there is no a priori reason to assume that he was right in this. I agree with von Wilamowitz (Sappho und Simonides 45) that the balance of the sentence strongly favours taking χρύσιον with ἄρμα.

But now for the crux in line 19. As is well known, the mss. of Dionysius have left us the choice between καίσαγην, μαισαγην and βαισαγην, whereas the papyrus just stops short of providing a clear-cut answer: it has]σ. ἄγην, with room for hardly more than two letters before the sigma and, most interestingly, a curved trace of ink high above the line of writing, left of the sigma. On the photograph in Prof. Turner's book it looks more as if there are two disconnected traces instead of one continuous curve, but Prof. Turner himself would be the first to admit that this appearance is deceptive: there is a little ridge in the texture of the papyrus which runs right through the curve, so that the ink on the ridge has almost completely washed off. Upon looking through the microscope, there can be no doubt that there has been one continuous flow of ink.

Now the only letters which normally begin high above the line are φ and ψ. Prof. Heitsch, in a paper in *Hermes* 1967, entertained the idea that we might have an iota here, and accordingly proposed εἰσάγην, but he clearly had not seen the papyrus. The same goes for myself: in my paper in *Mnemosyne* 1972, where I proposed Πείθων / εἰσ' ἄγην, I too hoped that an iota would be possible, but upon seeing the actual papyrus I had to abandon that idea: iota's never start so high. It was therefore natural for Mr. Lobel, the editor princeps, to propose a ψ and to read εἰψ σ' ἄγην. However, it has proved extremely difficult to make sense of this reading. Recently, Prof. G.M. Kirkwood (Early Greek Monody, 1974, 246 f.) has defended it; he takes ἄγην as an infinitive of

result, and translates "whom am I to persuade so as to bring (her) back for you to your friendship". I find this extremely harsh; I know of no parallel where πείθειν takes this sort of construction. More in general, any reading with εἰψ faces two difficulties: a) the variance with the mss. of Dionysius becomes difficult to account for; b) the sigma after εἰψ has to be interpreted as σοι. But σοι is not needed for the sense and indeed better dispensed with; we have already ἐς σάν φιλότατα; to have σοι ἐς σάν φιλότατα would give the phrase an undue stress. Moreover, the sound-combination εἰψ σ' ἄγην is definitely harsh. If Dionysius is right in asserting that euphony is a major characteristic of the poem (the reason why he quotes the poem is that he wants to demonstrate its smooth diction), such a superfluous sigma here would be doubly strange.

In view of these circumstances, it would be good if we could find some other alternative to the notorious φ, which limits our choice of interpretation so severely. Now Prof. Turner has compared a papyrus of Plato's Phaedo (P.Oxy.1809), which was very probably written by the same hand, and where the alpha sometimes starts abnormally high above the line. This has led him to think that in this case also we might have a tall alpha instead of a φ. I do not want to deny this possibility, but only repeat what Prof. Turner himself has said already: that it is hard to think of a word ending on -ασ to fill the bill here. Therefore it seems preferable to me to promote a fourth possibility next to φ, ψ and α, which occurred to me while examining the papyrus: to interpret the crucial trace as a perispomenon accent. As has been said, there are two more of these accents in this papyrus, one on στρούθοι in line 10 and one on θῦμον in line 4, and of these especially the one on θῦμον is drawn in a remarkably similar way to the curve in line 19. If this is right, a whole range of vowels and diphthongs becomes available to be put under the accent. It has to be remembered, however, that the scribe tends to put a perispomenon accent not right above the first or the last vowel of a diphthong, but

) Dr. R.A. Coles, whom I have consulted in this matter, agreed that a perispomenon accent in line 19 would be quite possible.

in between (cf. στροῦθοι in line 10), so that the only possible diphthong here would seem to be one ending on iota: a wider letter would soon collide with the sigma next to it.

I have no utterly new reading to propose. κῆσ' (thither) is palaeographically possible, but gives a poor sense. μαῖσ', the guess of the 19th century, would also become possible again, were it not that μαῖσ' would take just a bit too much space to be plausible. This is easy to check, since the previous line does begin with μαί. Assuming a straight margin, the second μαί would have to fall vertically under the first, which is contrary to the evidence on the papyrus: the second μαί would have begun about a half-letter farther left than the first. Therefore I prefer to maintain my conjecture of 1972 τίνα δηῦτε Πείθων / αῖσ' ἀγνὴ ἐς σάσφιλότατα (meaning: "whom will it befall this time to be led by Peitho to your love?"), even if αῖ seems in turn a bit short for the space available. I have to suppose that the α here had come off somewhat wider than standard.

A definite advantage of the reading Πείθων / αῖσ' is that it saves the general agreement between the papyrus and the text Dionysius must have had before him. If we suppose that there was scriptio continua between lines 18 and 19 at some stage of the transmission of Dionysius' text, it becomes easy to imagine that the idiomatic ν of Πείθων was swapped for a μ or κ, both of which can look very similar to a ν.

There remains the problem of the middle stop after the sigma on the papyrus. Its normal function is to indicate where the main syntactic break in a sentence occurs; yet no such break is defensible here. Could it be that there were originally two stops, one before and one after αῖσ', in order to indicate the syntactically crucial function of αῖσα? On this hypothesis, the space before the sigma would also be more satisfactorily filled. But of course this remains pure guesswork. It is worth noting, however, that the scribe of P.Oxy.1809, who has been identified by Lobel and Turner with the scribe of our papyrus, is very lavish with high and middle stops. Cf. ll.4-8: ὡσπερ ἐγὼ δεξαμενοσ καὶ υπομεινασ τὴν σμικροτητα· καὶ ἐτι ὦν ὅσπερ εἰμι· οὗτοσ ὁ αὐτοσ· σμικροσ εἰμι· κτλ (Pl. Phaedo 102E). It is not probable that the middle stop in our papyrus served as a mere word-separator: in that case, as Mr. M. L. West has pointed out to me, a diastole would be called for (cf. E. G. Turner, GMAW, p.13 n.1).

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words on the overall interpretation of the poem in connexion with the proposed reading for l.18-19. It has been felt, a long time ago

already by Buecheler and quite recently by Kirkwood (op.cit.), that the mention of Peitho would be inappropriate here. I suppose that the argument behind this feeling is that the relation between Sappho and Aphrodite in this poem is a very intimate one, and that to introduce Peitho here as a sort of go-between would infringe on this personal relationship. It would somehow seem to reintroduce into the world of Sappho the machinery of gods and messengers, of personifications and semi-personifications, which, we may feel, belongs more to the world of the Iliad. Sappho's theology, we may feel, ought to be as simple and direct as possible. But I am not sure that this is a good argument. In the first place, in reply to it I might hide behind the back of von Wilamowitz, who in Sappho und Simonides defended the interpretation of Peitho here as the daughter or servant of Aphrodite. He pointed to a cult of Aphrodite Peitho in Mytilene at that time, and by an overingenious piece of reasoning inferred that Peitho as the servant of Aphrodite was also mentioned in another fragment of Sappho (156 D). The attribution of 156 D to Sappho has been discredited by Prof. Page (Sappho and Alcaeus 6), but his conjecture about the connexion between Aphrodite and Peitho has been confirmed by the discovery of a fragment of a commentary on Sappho, P.Oxy.2292 (90 LP), where we read: "elsewhere she (Sappho) calls Peitho the daughter of Aphrodite", which seems to imply that in at least one place Peitho was also called the servant of Aphrodite²⁾. So we need have no qualms about the reality as a person of Peitho for Sappho. But still this is only half the answer. What we need above all is a poetic justification for the appearance of Peitho in this particular place in this particular poem, and here von Wilamowitz goes wrong, I think: he presumes that there can only be φιλία, friendship, between Sappho and the girl she wants, not love, and that therefore it is meet and right that Peitho should be the one to bring the girl to Sappho, not Eros or Aphrodite herself. I prefer a different justifi-

²⁾ In fr. 96, 29 LP it is uncertain whether Πείθω should be interpreted as the goddess or as first person singular.

cation for the role of Peitho as a servant to Aphrodite here: through it, the superiority of Aphrodite over mortal beings is emphasized. The goddess becomes one stage further removed from the poor despairing creature Sappho, and she becomes all the more powerful for it. It is true, of course, that the relation between the god and Sappho is meant to be intimate and friendly: she smiles to her, *μειδιαίσαισα*, and she talks to her, but her smile is not of this world: *ἀθανάτω προσώπῳ*. To Aphrodite, Sappho's *ἄσαι* must look ephemeral, and she brings this out by saying that a mere wink to her servant will be enough to cure them. The reading *αἴσα* (*ἔστι*) also helps to bring this out, I feel: throughout the next stanza, it is presented almost as a law of nature that the lover will be loved in return, and this idea of a law of nature is also present in the notion of *αἴσα* or *μοῖρα*, that which is due to happen to somebody³⁾. By putting these consolatory words into the mouth of Aphrodite Sappho succeeds in taking distance from her problems, and it is in part this combination of intensity of feeling and ironical distance which makes the Prayer to Aphrodite to such a great poem.

³⁾ Cf. *Mnemosyne* 1972, 115 ff., and cf. especially *Theognis* 343 ff.:

τεθναίνην δ', εἰ μή τι κακῶν ἄμπαυμα μεριμνέων
 εὐροίμην, δοίην δ' ἀντ' ἀνιῶν ἀνίας·
 αἴσα γὰρ οὕτως ἐστίν.

P.Oxy. 321: proposta di ricostruzione

Ossirinco, [novembre 36 d.C.]

- 1 Τ[ρύ]φων Διονυ[σίου, γέρδιος, Πέρσης τῆς ἐπι-
 γονῆς,
 Σαραεῦτι Ἀπίωνος μετὰ κυρίου
- τοῦ Σαραπίωνος χ(αίρειν). Ἐξέδοτό σοι ἡ γυ-
 νή μου Δημητροῦς τὸ
 ἡμεῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων γεγονός θηλυκὸν παῖδιον, ᾧ
 ὄνομα Θαμού-
- 5 νιον· προέτρεψες δέ συ ἡ Σαραεῦς ἐπ' ἐνιαυ-
 τὸν ἕνα ἰδίῳ σου
 γάλακτι τοῦτο θυγάτριον μέχρι νῦν. ἀφ' ἧς δὲ
 ἔαν ἡμέ-
 ρας ἀπαλλαγῶμεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ ἡ Δη-
 μητροῦς,
 ἀφ' οὗ μηνὸς ἔαν [μὴ ἀποδῶ σοι ἡ Δημητροῦς τὰ
 τροφεῖα,
 πληρώσω ἐγὼ [μόνος ὁ Τρύφων ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐκ
 πλήρους
- 10 τὸν τοῦ θυγατρίου [ὑπὲρ τιθηνήσεως ἀπότακτον
 μισθόν,
 πυροῦ ἡμισυ χοίλνικος καὶ
 ἐλαίου
 κοτύλας δύο καὶ τὰ μῆνα· καὶ ἐπάναγκον ὁμολο-
 γῶ ἀπο-
 δώσειν σοι χλαλκοῦ δραχμὰς κατὰ μῆνα
 εἰς μῆνας
 δέκα δύο, γαλακτοτροφούσης σου τὸ θυγάτριον
 εἰς ἄλλον
- 15 ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα [.....

δραχμὰς δύο .[

ἐὰν δὲ μὴ[

ο]ῦ μηνὸς ἐὰν κ[οιλάνω, ἐκτίσω σοι τὰ βλάβη
καὶ δαπανήματα
διπλᾶ, τῆς πράξε[εὼς σοι οὔσης ἕκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ
ἐκ τῶν

20 ὑπαρχόντων μ[οι πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. μὴ
λιπούσης
σ]ου ἐντὸς δι[ετείας τὴν τροφείαν, χορηγοῦν-
τος δὲ
μου ἕκασ[τον μῆνα τὸν τοῦ δευτέρου ἐνιαυτοῦ
συν-
πεφω[νημένον μισθὸν

ζε..η..[.

πρὸς τὴν

25 τροῦν. κ[υ]ρία [ἡ συγγραφὴ πανταχῆ ἐπιφερο-
μένη καὶ παντὶ.
τῶ ἐπιφέ[ροντι.
Τρύφων [

ooo

Il P.Oxy. 321 fa parte dell'archivio del testatore Trifone figlio di Dionisio, i cui documenti, rinvenuti ad Ossirinco da Grenfell e Hunt e pubblicati nel I e nel II volume della serie oxoniense, sono stati riesaminati qualche anno fa da una giovane studiosa italiana, M.V. Biscottini ("Aegyptus", 1966).

Il più interessante dei documenti di questo archivio è certamente il P.Oxy.267, che ben a ragione è stato definito da H.J. Wolff "one of the most troublesome texts" fra quelli relativi alla vexata quaestio del così detto ἄγραφος γάμος nei documenti papiracei di età romana. Pubblicato da Grenfell e Hunt con il titolo di "agreement of marriage", dal Mitteis come "Vermögensrechtliche Abmachungen bei einem ἄγραφος γάμος",

trattato, considerato, interpretato da numerosi studiosi, il P.Oxy.267 non è collocabile con sicurezza in una precisa categoria documentale. A mio parere, proprio il P.Oxy.321 può aiutarci a comprendere meglio questo enigmatico testo.

Del P.Oxy.321, per verità, noi possediamo solo una parte, circa un terzo di ogni linea, e le poche parole rimaste non sono facilmente collegabili in un contesto coerente e scevro di dubbi gravi.

Il documento è, indiscutibilmente, un contratto di baliatico fra Trifone e una donna, Saraeus figlia di Apion, che è la controparte dello stesso Trifone anche nel P.Oxy.267 e che in altri documenti dell'archivio risulta, 'dal 4 luglio del 37 d.C. in poi, seconda moglie di Trifone. Ma a questo si limitano le notizie certe: manca la data, ed il documento è stato collocato da Grenfell e Hunt (P.Oxy.II p.244) e dalla Biscottini dopo il P.Oxy.267. Inoltre, rispetto agli altri contratti di baliatico dell'Egitto romano, questo contratto presenta alcune anomalie:

- 1) il documento è annullato (κεχιασμένος): in seguito, dice la Biscottini, al suo adempimento
- 2) l'affidante, e non la balia, sarà soggetto ad esecuzione, in caso di inadempienza
- 3) secondo le interpretazioni finora date dei resti della l.4, Trifone assumerebbe sua moglie Saraeus per allattare a pagamento la bambina nata da loro
- 4) la separazione cui si allude nella l.7 sarebbe stata per avvenire fra Trifone e Saraeus. La terza e la quarta "anomalia" sono tanto gravi, che, se non si potesse eliminarle, il testo rappresenterebbe un assurdo giuridico incomprensibile. In realtà, dato lo stato lacunoso del testo, è gratuito pensare che quell'ἡμεῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων (l.4) debba essere riferito alle due controparti del contratto, ossia "Trifone figlio di

Dionisio, tessitore, Persiano della discendenza (?) (questa restituzione viene proposta per la presenza della clausola di esecuzione a l.19) e "Saraeus figlia di Apion". Il nome del κύριος di Saraeus è in lacuna: non è la stessa persona che assiste Saraeus in P.Oxy.267, e non possiamo escludere che egli sia il marito della donna.

Tutte le integrazioni qui proposte per le linee successive si basano sulla constatazione che le l.5 (προέτρε[φες], 8 (ἀφ'οὔ μηνός ἐάν []) e 9 (πληρώσω ἐγὼ []) si adattano solamente ad un rinnovo di un contratto già vigente, e non ad un contratto nuovo. Noi sappiamo, dal P.Oxy.282, che Trifone, prima del 37 d.C., era sposato con una donna di nome Demetrous, e che l'unione con questa donna ebbe termine in modo tempestoso: ora, se noi poniamo il P.Oxy.321 ad una data non posteriore, ma anteriore al P.Oxy.267, possiamo riferire quell'ἡμεῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων a Trifone ed a Demetrous, ed otteniamo una situazione logica, ricostruibile con formule che si adattano ai resti delle linee in righe di lunghezza uniforme.

La ricostruzione proposta è la seguente: "Affidò a te mia moglie Demetrous la bambina di nome Thamounion, nata da noi due; e già prima tu, Saraeus, allattasti con il tuo proprio latte, per un anno, questa bimba finora. Ma, dal giorno in cui ci separassimo io e Demetrous, e dal mese in cui Demetrous non ti versasse gli alimenti, compirò io solo, Trifone, del mio, pienamente, la mercede pattuita per l'allattamento della bambina". Seguono le varie voci che costituiscono tale mercede, ovviamente non ricostruibili, specialmente la l.13, in cui, se veramente χ è la iniziale di χαλκοῦ, avremmo eccezionalmente un pagamento in dramme di bronzo (negli altri contratti di baliatico la mercede è pagata in argento). Seguono, ancora, le penalità nelle quali in correrà Trifone, se verrà meno ai suoi impegni

contrattuali, ed una frase finale, che nei normali contratti di baliatico impone alla balia di presentare periodicamente il bambino al controllo dell'affidante, ma che forse qui, data la eccezionalità del caso, suonava all'incirca "poichè ti verserò io Trifone mensilmente la mercede pattuita per il secondo anno, tu Saraeus non avrai più l'obbligo di presentare la bimba a Demetrous", o forse anche, invece di toglierle semplicemente l'obbligo, si faceva alla balia esplicito divieto di mostrare la bambina alla madre, poichè costei aveva od avrebbe lasciato il tetto coniugale. Insomma, il contratto mostrerebbe che Trifone, sul punto di essere abbandonato da Demetrous, vuol garantire la continuità dell'allattamento alla sua bambina, e rileva perciò il contratto prima stipulato fra Saraeus da una parte e lui stesso e Demetrous dall'altra; e, poichè non vuole versare in una sola soluzione anticipata la mercede per il secondo anno, si impegna a pagarne puntualmente i mensili: di qui la sua straordinaria posizione di debitore.

Rimane da spiegare perchè questo documento sia stato annullato in un modo tanto insolito per un contratto di baliatico. Direi che l'annullamento, eseguito con barre incrociate sul testo stesso del contratto, è stato fatto in questa forma non perchè il contratto sia giunto a compimento (alla fine dei 12 mesi citati alla l.14), ma proprio perchè, prima della sua scadenza, è stato sostituito con un nuovo e diverso contratto: precisamente con il P.Oxy.267. Il 22 maggio del 37 d.C. Trifone, abbandonato da Demetrous e dopo averla denunciata anche per appropriazione indebita (P.Oxy.282), si prende in casa la balia della sua bambina (situazione eccezionale ma non unica, cfr. P.dem.Cairo 30604, del 233/2 a.C.) e stipula con lei un nuovo contratto, che ha l'aspetto di un prestito atipico e che

nella sostanza assomiglia ad una παραμονή. In esso non sono elencati gli impegni di Saraeus, che anzi figura ancora una volta come creditrice di Trifone: non sono più menzionate le sue funzioni di balia e non sono neanche accennate le sue altre mansioni, per le quali però si prospetta la possibilità che ella rimanga incinta. Trifone, invece, le verserà alla fine di 5 mesi 40 dramme di argento (in forma di restituzione di prestito, ma in realtà come mercede: e per questo daterei il P.Oxy.321 al novembre del 36, ossia 7 mesi prima del P.Oxy.267), le assicura il possesso di certi gioielli ed oggetti di vestiario elencati; inoltre, poichè i due, come è esplicitamente ed inequivocabilmente detto, "sono insieme senza contratto", Trifone garantisce a Saraeus certi diritti che spetterebbero naturalmente ad una moglie in caso di separazione durante una gravidanza di lei, ma che non spettano affatto ad una donna che moglie non è, e che quindi debbono esserle assicurati da una speciale clausola di questo anomalo contratto.

Le vicissitudini di Trifone non terminano ancora a questo punto. In una data che sta fra il 22 maggio 37 ed il 4 luglio dello stesso anno, quando Saraeus è incinta di lui, Trifone la sposa, suscitando la violenta reazione di Demetrous e di sua madre, le quali aggrediscono entrambi e causano a Saraeus danni tali, che ella perde il suo bambino. (P.Oxy.315); in questo documento Saraeus è detta moglie di Trifone ed è probabilmente proprio questo suo nuovo stato la ragione per cui il pagamento promesso dopo 5 mesi nel documento nr. 267 avviene solo dopo 7 anni e senza pagamento di penalità. Solo dopo questo lungo periodo, evidentemente, i due coniugi si preoccupano di chiedere la cancellazione di un atto che per loro era già stato superato da tempo.

Extraction of papyri from gesso cartonnage: A new method based on an enzymatic approach.

Dr. Øystein Wendelbo.

Plates XXVII-XXIX

Communicated by Dr. Øystein Wendelbo at Rhodes House, Oxford, 27.7.1974. 1.

Many attempts have been made in the past to free papyri from gesso cartonnage. Known to the author are extraction procedures with boiling water, steam, acids (e.g. hydrochloric acid etc.). None of these methods have given unequivocally good results. Considering the age of the material, this was not to be expected either. These methods are all crude and unspecific, having widespread effects on different chemical constituents in the plant material.

In the search for a safer and more specific method, the enzymatic approach was chosen. The author has for many years been using enzymes with good results in restoration.^{2,3} The main advantages of using enzymes are speed and specificity. What can be achieved by chemicals in the course of days or weeks (with sometimes deleterious effects to the restoration object in the meantime by chemical or solvent, light, air etc.) is brought about within minutes. Even more important, their specificity makes the reaction predictable, and unknown side effects will not occur.

Gesso is said to be many things, e.g. gypsum (calcium sulphate), whiting (calcium carbonate) etc. Alfred Lucas⁴ made many chemical analyses of old Egyptian gesso, and he concluded that it consisted of whiting containing nitrogenous organic matter. An x-ray diffractometric study of the gesso was carried out to get additional evidence as to the chemical

composition of the mineral compounds in the gesso. This investigation showed, beyond doubt, that it consisted of calcium carbonate.⁵

As whitening possesses very small adhesive properties, a binding substance was expected; for instance glue, as suggested by Lucas. Earlier experiments^{2,3} have demonstrated that glue is easily split by the enzyme trypsin without harmful effects to the restoration object.

The extraction procedure consists of dissolving Pancreas Trypsin NOVO (activity 6 Anson units/gr.) in a phosphate buffer solution, pH=8, temp. +40° C. The papyrus fragment is put into the solution, and the gesso starts getting dissolved almost immediately. The text emerges usually within 5-10 minutes. If the papyri are glued together in layers, a separation occurs after a somewhat longer exposure time; from 10 to 15 minutes. The enzymatic effect is stopped by washing out in ordinary tap water.

Crystalline trypsin is very expensive. For reasons of economy the enzymatic preparation Pancreas Trypsin NOVO has been chosen for this new method. The preparation contains the enzymes trypsin and chymotrypsin. For the experienced bio-chemist there are no objections to the use of this preparation as it only contains these two enzymes, both being *proteolytic*, i.e. they only attack proteins. The framework of *Cyperus papyrus* is almost entirely built of *carbo-hydrates* (cellulose, hemicelluloses, lignin etc.) and it is these that are of interest, when considering the plant as substance for writing material. Electron microscopic studies of the old papyrus material have not revealed detrimental changes⁶ after enzyme treatment. The use of enzymes for restoration purposes is not limited to papyrus only. In all fields of restoration, for instance restoration of paper, paintings, pottery,

furniture etc., the enzymatic approach will be the answer to many problems presently regarded as insoluble. An example of this is shown in plate 3, which shows pieces of textile after enzymatic removal from gesso cartonnage.⁷

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Notes and references:

1. The presentation was dealt with in three parts.
By:
a) showing in a film the procedures of the method.
b) reading a formal paper: 'The removal of gesso cartonnage with some remarks on glued papyri'.
c) giving a practical demonstration of the method on a piece of the *Oxyrhynchus* cartonnage from the Ashmolean Museum. Texts in clear writing emerged. Detrimental changes were not seen.
2. Ø. Wendelbo & B. Fosse: Protein "surgery". A restoring procedure applied on paper. *Restaurator*. 1. 1970. pp. 245-48.

3. Ø. Wendelbo: The use of enzymes for restoration purposes. Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique. Numéro spécial. 12.1974. pp. 235-241.
4. A.Lucas: *Ancient Egyptian materials and industries*, 4.rev. and enl.ed. by J.R.Harris. (Arnold Ltd. London, 1962), p.4.
5. The expert assistance of Amanuensis Magne Tysseland, Geological institute, University of Bergen, is gratefully acknowledged.
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7. A more detailed report, giving more chemical data, will be published in the journal *Restaurator*, (Copenhagen).

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THE METRICAL PLACING OF SMALL PAPYRUS FRAGMENTS

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Many papyrus fragments of great poets are so small that they look useless. No continuous sense, perhaps no complete word: only the existence of larger pieces from the same roll or codex indicates that they are fragments of great poets, or indeed that they are verse. But they deserve careful attention, for one little observation may lead to a chain of deductions. The most significant advance is often the recognition how the preserved words or syllables fit into the presumed metrical schema. At once they take on form. They become part of metrical cola, the range of possible supplements becomes sharply circumscribed, particular supplements begin to suggest themselves, and finally sense may emerge. Editors do not always take full advantage of metrical criteria. In this paper I want to illustrate how detailed knowledge of the rules of versification can sometimes enable even a very narrow fragment to be placed.

I begin with some examples from P. Oxy. xxii. 2313, a roll which contained tetrameters of Archilochus. The first example is fairly straightforward. Consider line 1, and where in the tetrameter it might come from. It might be the beginning. Or *ἀλλά* might be the end of the first metron: - υ ἀλλά τοι νέος τ[ε or τ[ις. It cannot be the beginning of the second metron, because *νεος* would then bridge the caesura. Nor can we have the caesura between *ἀλλά* and the enclitic *τοι*: there are parallels for such a caesura in tragedy, but not in early iambus. The remaining possibility is that the caesura falls before *ἀλλά*. This is only possible if *νεοστ[* is part of a compound word, because Archilochus avoids a disyllable such as *νέος* before the final iambus of the line (the Wilamowitz — Knox Law). When we look at line 2, the three possibilities are virtually reduced to one. *κίνει ταλαν[* is not the beginning of a tetrameter, therefore *ἀλλά τοι* cannot be. Nor can it follow the caesura. It is conceivable that the caesura falls before *ἀλλά* and after *κίνει*, with some trisyllabic case of *τάλας* following. But no tribrach form of *τάλας* is found in Greek literature before the fifth century, resolution is rare in Archilochus, and together with a compound *νεοστ-* this makes three uncommon things that

have to be postulated for this metrical diagnosis to hold. The remaining alternative is much the likeliest: that there are two syllables lost before *ἀλλα*, three before *κίνοι*.

In the second example we see in line 3, and again in lines 4 and 7, three consecutive longs. As there is no word-break after the second long, these must either represent the runover from the first to the second metron or the runover from the third to the fourth. Against the latter alternative is the disyllable *κείνου* in 4, which looks likely to offend against the Wilamowitz-Knox Law. This one case might be saved by following enclitics, but in 6 we again have a disyllabic word which will have to be assigned to the same position in the verse, and which cannot have been preceded by a prepositional monosyllable (as those in 7 and 8 can). So we may safely say that the fragment comes from the first part of the verse. In most of the lines two or three syllables are lost at the beginning, in line 3 only one.

In the next example we observe the only obscene word so far found in Archilochus' tetrameters, *βινέων* or *βινέω*. In his dialect that must be scanned as a spondee. The preceding *κα* looks like a short syllable - probably the end of *γυναῖκα*. Now short-long-long followed by word-break can only occur in one place in the line: at the caesura. So we know that five syllables are lost at the beginning of line 2; probably the same in line 3; and either four or six in line 1.

In my fourth and last example from this papyrus, we have only two syllables in lines 2-6 and even less in 1. In lines 2, 3, and 4 the syllables are $\upsilon -$, and the same is likely to have been true in 5 and 6. The fact that these iambs are so well aligned one above the other suggests that we are near the beginning of the verse. The fact that the first syllable is short in at least four of the five lines, and probably all of them, would suit the hypothesis that only one syllable preceded: if three had preceded, the position would be anceps. This reasoning is upset by line 1, if] γ is rightly read, for that implies two successive longs, which cannot stand at the very beginning of the verse. However, it is possible to take the γ as $\lambda\gamma$, giving a sixth line with an iambus in vertical alignment. It is then tempting to assume that it began with η] *λικαι*, line 2 with η] *μέρη*[, and line 3 with η] μ' *ἐλεύ*[*θερον* or the like.

Sometimes articulation and supplementation are a necessary preliminary to metrical placing. For example, in P. Oxy. xxx. 2520 fr. 13, from a hexameter poem on Philip of Macedon, the syllables actually preserved are insufficient as a basis for analysis. But it is not difficult to restore]*γαλλεται* in 10 as *ἀγάλλεται* or *ἐπαγάλλεται*, and]*ερίγενε*[in 11 as *θερειγενέος* or some other case of the same adjective. This is all we know, and all we need to know. A word of the shape of *ἀγάλλεται* or *θερειγενέος* must stand (in any competent versifier; and this poet is competent enough, as the other fragments show) immediately after the caesura in the third foot. *ἐπαγάλλεται* or *καὶ ἀγάλλεται* might also stand after the arsis of the fourth foot; *θερειγενέος* or some similar five-syllable form might also stand before the caesura; but only the position after the caesura will suit both lines. We can now assume that the two shorts in line 9 represent the thesis of the third or fourth foot. But]*νον* must be the end of a word; and in the fourth foot this would be a breach of Hermann's Bridge. So it is practically certain to be the third foot. The same argument will apply to lines 7 and 15.

The next example (and all the rest from now on) is again from P. Oxy. xxx. It is from a hexameter poem of the Hellenistic or early imperial period. It is highly probable that *ενιμμ* in line 5 is part of *ἐνιμμεγάρου(ι)*. A phrase of this shape (like *θερειγενέος*) must stand immediately before or after the caesura. Against its being before is line 6, where we appear to have a word ending]*ελησι* or]*ελησιν*. With *ἐνι μεγάρου(ι)* before the caesura,]*ελησι* would be a word beginning in the first foot and ending after the trochee of the second. Wilhelm Meyer made a law against this, and it is in fact so rare in polished hexameters that we are far more likely to be right if we put the caesura before *ενιμμ* and then after *ελησιν*.

A fragment from Antimachus' Thebaid, 2518 fr. 7(a), presents a rather similar problem. Line 1 must be some case of *ἀποφθίμενος*, to which the same considerations will apply as to *ἐνι μεγάρου(ι)*. It will stand either just before or just after the caesura. In line 4 several articulations are possible, but the most likely is a case of *ποδώκης*, scanning $\upsilon - \upsilon \upsilon$. A word of this shape is almost invariably put after the caesura, with the dactyl in the fourth foot. With the dactyl in the second

foot it would contravene another clause of Meyer's Law; with the dactyl in the fifth it would breach Hermann's Bridge, giving a break after the trochee in the fourth. So we shall assume that in lines 2, 3, and 5 it is parts of the fourth foot that are represented.

In another fragment from the same papyrus, fr. 20, there are no more than two syllables preserved in any line, and in most lines only one. There is nothing to indicate the nature of the context, and the letter combinations are too ordinary to suggest particular supplements. But there is one little fingerhold in line 5. ρα must be the beginning of a word. There is no word which would begin ρασ- in the epic language. So it is virtually certain that it is the particle ρα followed by a word with initial σ or elided before initial δσ-. Now the form ρα is only used after a monosyllable and following a pause. The nu, therefore, can only belong to a relative or demonstrative pronoun: ὄν, ἦν, ὤν, τόν, τήν, τῶν. There are three places in the verse where a new clause can begin with a dactyl: the first foot, the second, and the fifth. Statistically the first is far the most common and the second the least common. This does not really help us to decide which it is here, but at least we have limited the possibilities.

Punctuation may show where a clause begins, and in this way assist metrical placing. For example, in another fragment of Antimachus, line 8, the phrase περί δ' ἦν could in principle stand in three places in the line, but with punctuation after it only in one, namely following the caesura. This enables us to locate the caesura in most of the remaining lines, and to see that in fact its position in line 8 was further to the left than usual. For instance, it must fall after ἦν in 3 (probably γ]αίης τε καὶ ο[ύρανόν),]οντα in 4,]οῦτι in 7,]ουρα in 10.

Again, in 2519 fr. 3(b), the punctuation after ἀργός in line 6 shows exactly where in the line that word is, since it is clearly not the first word, and the only foot other than the first where punctuation at the trochee is admissible is the third. We can accordingly locate the caesura after μάλα πᾶσ[αι in 7, επιχειρα in 8, σ]ύμπαντα[ς in 9,]ων in 10, ἔ]πειτα in 11. But for the punctuation mark, these might have belonged to the fourth and fifth feet. In line 2 the caesura evidently comes further to the left, before ὅτοι.

My last example is from the poem on Philip, and it illustrates how easy it is to make a wrong assumption about the metrical longitude of a fragment and in consequence to consider supplements of the wrong metrical shape. On line 2 Lobel writes, "One might think of θ]όρε δουρὸς δ[κωκή, but the ink by no means suggests α for the last letter". On line 6 he remarks, "επε[ργοις was not written". Evidently he assumes the surviving words and syllables to come from the fourth and fifth feet of the line. They are all compatible with that hypothesis except for one small point - the point after κρίνεσκειν in line 8. That shows that it is the third foot and not the fifth. It follows that the caesura falls after ὅτει- λῶν, κονίησι, πολέμοιο, -τήτοισιν, μάχην, νεφέων γά[ρ.

I hope that these brief remarks may serve to make editors more aware of what can be done in this direction. In many cases, 100% certainty is unattainable, particularly when the poet is unknown and the quality of his versification uncertain. But I believe that, in this as in other matters, the 75% probability is worth following up and building on. It is better in general to go on thinking about problems than to stop when it becomes difficult. One is sometimes rewarded by discoveries that confirm hypothesis and vindicate speculation. "Many people consider it impossible to accomplish things which could be accomplished if they exerted themselves" (Mao).

1. Oxy. 2313 fr. 9
(Archil. 144)

]άλλατοινεοστ[
]κίνειταλαν[
]γησμεν[
].τερπ.[
]’[

5. 2520 fr. 13

] .[
].[
]πο[
].ο[
5]σα.[
]ιπρο[
]εσεγ.[
]σρόσσα[
]νονεπε.[
10]γαλλεται.[
]ερίγενε[
]ηνχθογ[
]ισπολυ[
]κώμε[
15]σεδυνη[
].ιουδα[
]ελε.με.[
]πλω.[

2. 2313 fr. 12
(Archil. 145)

]αλλη[
]γμιμν[
]εναιδοιων[
]ω·κεινου[
5]γ·ενζοοσιδ[
]ενκακην.[
]ησαλκησλ[
]κεινονπ[
]μενοιδ.[

6. 2515 fr. 2

] .[]φ[
]αρ.[
]λεωρ[
]ηνκααο[
5]σενιμμ.[
]ελησιγεβ[
].λ[

7. 2518 fr. 7(a)
(Antimachus)

]ποφθιμ[
].τεμ[
]ειονα[
]οδωκε[
5]ρασι[

3. 2313 fr. 21
(Archil. 152)

]γαιδε·τιο[
]καβτνεων[
].ρεκεινοο[

4. 2313 fr. 23
(Archil. 154)

]γκαι[
]μερη[
]μ’ελευ[
]γυναι[
5]νδιοο[
]πολυ[

8. 2518 fr. 20
(Antimachus)

]μ.[] .[
].τε[
]νατ[
]ητω[
5]νρασ[
]πρα[
].]διη[
].μετ[
]ανθ[
10]πην[
]ιζο[
]προδ[
]ρο.[

9. 2516 fr. 12
(Antimachus)

]ο.....[
]δεσμωια[
]αιηστεκαιο[
]οντακιε.[
5]ησσκυλακ[
]αποτμογ[
]ουτικυνδ[
]εριδ’ήτε,[
].περι.[
10]ουρακα[
]χαιαμ[
]...πφ[

11. 2520 fr. 3

]..[
]ορεδουρρο.[
]πτειλωνπ[
].δ’ενκοιηισι[
5]νηπολεμοιοδ[
]υτητοισινεπ.[
]αμφιμαχηκ[
]κρινεσκεν·ετ.[
]εκνεφεωνγα[
]δαρ’επ..γ’.[
]ιπρωτο[
]ν·ταχακ[
].μενοι.[

10. 2519 fr. 3(b)
(Antimachus ?)

]ον.[
]δτοιπαρ[
]νηλοι.[
]φει[.]επ[
5]ησαντε.[
]παργοσ·α.[
]μαλαπασ[
]επιχειρα[
]ύμπαντα[
10]ωνχαιυπ[
]πειτα..[
]ητοστ[

THE SO-CALLED PRIVATE PROTOCOL

Hans Julius Wolff

In this brief communication which grew out of my work on the handbook of the law of the papyri, I propose to submit a few observations concerning the practical importance of a method of recording agreements which during the period of the Principate was in frequent use along with others. Being particularly popular in Oxyrhynchus where people liked to set forth in this form leases and related contracts, it is familiar to all Papyrologists. It is remarkable, because documents representing it show in their structure a curious mixture of features belonging to the notarial *syngraphe*, on the one hand, and to the *χειρόγραφον*, on the other. That is to say: They resemble the *syngraphe* in that they were drawn up as objectively styled records of the transaction, stating its *causa* either directly (e.g. *ἐμισθωσεν*) or by means of an *homologia*. This statement was often, though not always, followed by clauses laying down the debtor's submission to a possible *πρόξιος* and the *κυρία*-quality of the document, and in the 3rd cent. these were of course joined by the stipulation clause. But the documents in question also resembled the *χειρόγραφον*, inasmuch as their dateline, instead of forming the prescript, as was the case in the agoranomic and *grapheion syngraphe*, was relegated to the end of the document. This was an arrangement from which draftsmen never deviated before, since late in the 3rd cent., they sometimes put down the date twice, i.e. at both the beginning and the end, and, from about the middle of the century on, even became accustomed to having it precede the context without repeating it at its end (1). It should be noted that both changes were again in line with what at that time was becoming customary in drafting chirographs (2).

I wish to put emphasis on the treatment of the dateline as described, because in period of the Principate its invariable insertion after the context seems to have been more than just a matter of external style. Assimilating our document to the *χειρόγραφον*, the practice may be considered symptomatic of the fact that the document, in spite of its being drawn up in an objective style, was not a *δημόσιος χρηματισμός*. This conclusion - which is by no means new (3) - is confirmed by other characteristic features which likewise distinguish the instrument under discussion from the notarial *syngraphe*.

One is the fact that the phrase ἐν ἀγυιά, typically and almost without exception occurring in the notarial documents precisely of the city and nome of Oxyrhynchus, is conspicuously absent. Another I find in the very expression χειρόγραφον which in the 4th cent. was sometimes employed - not quite properly, to be sure, but none the less suggestively - in referring to contracts drawn up in the manner here under discussion (4). Finally, and most important of all: There is evidence that the document was one of those that, in order to be fully effective, had to be submitted to the καταλογεῖον for δημοσίωσις (5). The inference that we are dealing with one of the variants of the private document common in imperial Egypt seems inescapable. This is why I chose to adopt for it the term "private protocol", which, very appropriately coined by J. Herrmann (6), at once indicates both its objective form and private character.

What was the importance of the "private protocol" - more especially: did it or did it not differ functionally from other types of private instruments commonly used at the same time, in particular the chirograph and the hypomnema?

The oldest specimen of a private protocol known to us is a lease written in Oxyrhynchus in 19 B.C., P.Oxy. I 277. It testifies to the existence in that place of our type of document in the very first years of Roman rule at the latest. Actually its introduction may have taken place even earlier. For in view of the fact that the parties to the contract just mentioned were Macedonian officers, it does not appear unlikely that it should be dated back into the Ptolemaic era. In any event, it must have been popular in Oxyrhynchus as early as the first decade of the Roman period. A sufficient number of sources allow us to state that in the 1st cent. A.D. it was among the types of document regularly employed in that city. For the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th cent. the evidence is abundant.

It was used here primarily for the purpose of recording contracts of lease, whether of land, buildings, rooms, or other objects (7). If the impression conveyed by the sources is not deceptive, the habit of drawing up leases in this form was so common in Oxyrhynchus that for centuries it practically excluded any other mode. It was only in the 3rd cent. that the hypomnema, elsewhere long predominant, began penetrating into Oxyrhynchus and competing with the private protocol (8). A second group of contracts for which Oxyrhynchites preferred the private protocol was apprenticeship agreements entered into by parents or masters for their sons or slaves respectively (9). Along with these two types

that were outstanding there were also found in Oxyrhynchus a number of other transactions documented in this manner, such as division of property (10), exchange of liturgies (11), hiring of artists (12), and even marriage contracts (13). For these types, however, use of the private protocol does not seem to have been so much a matter of course as it was for the two forementioned ones. A rather striking phenomenon is a prominent, though not exclusive and therefore certainly not essential, rôle which the mutual homologia (ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις) played in the private protocols of Oxyrhynchus.

I have dwelt at some length on the evidence from Oxyrhynchus, since under the earlier Principate the private protocol seems to have been a form of documentation that was specifically connected with that city. There are a few instances from other nomes, to be sure. One is a partnership contract drawn up in Memphis in A.D. 94 (P. Bour. 13). A second one, even older (A.D. 4), is of unknown provenance (Stud. Pal. XXI 20). Concerning the purchase of a donkey, it is interesting as anticipating in a certain manner the Fayûm sources of much later date (see note 18, below), to be discussed presently. A third example would be P. Straßb. 143 (SB. V 8258), possibly from Alexandria, if G. Hübsch (14) was right in classifying it as a private protocol. But the text - starting out as an objectively styled protocol but falling into a subjective style at the end, and lacking a dateline - seems to be a mere draft for a contract rather than a complete document (15). In view of the wealth of pertinent sources from Oxyrhynchus, their scarcity outside of that place, even in well documented nomes, such as Hermupolis or Heracleopolis, suggests that in most of the other parts of Egypt the private protocol must have played a part only in exceptional cases.

Only the Fayûm did, to our knowledge, make use of a private protocol as a regular method of documentation. But in spite of the fact that, with respect to their formal structure, the samples coming from that region closely resemble those from Oxyrhynchus, the two groups should be kept strictly distinct. Not only did the private protocol make its appearance in the Fayûm much later than in Oxyrhynchus: apart from some isolated forerunners written in the latter part of the 2nd cent. (16), the bulk of the sources from the Arsinoite nome belong to the 3rd and 4th cent. In view of the general source situation in the Fayûm it seems hard to hold this to be accidental. Even more significant is the wide gulf separating the Arsinoite protocols from their Oxyrhynchite opposites as far as contents and diction are concerned. Land leases, which constitute by far the larg-

est single group among the Oxyrhynchite protocols, do not occur at all in the Fayûm (17) where the hypomnema always remained predominant. On the other hand, in the Fayûm the favorite transactions to be recorded by means of the private protocol were loans and other agreements relating to obligations (18), that is to say, contracts never found in the parallel texts of Oxyrhynchus. A mutual homologia - a characteristic feature of the Oxyrhynchus protocol, as we saw - is met with only once in the Arsinoite material, and that not before A.D. 350 (P. Gen. 11=P. Abinn. 62). Besides, its wording (ὁμ[ο]λογοῦσιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους) differs conspicuously from the one so common in the Oxyrhynchus protocols (see above). Other peculiarities occurring in the Fayûm several times but absent in Oxyrhynchus are the introductory formula: συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους (19) and the phrase: προσεφώνησεν καὶ ὠμολόγησεν (20). In conclusion, we may confidently state that the two nomos developed independently of one another instruments shaped after the same general pattern but serving different purposes.

This is the evidence. The question arises: What place should we assign to the private protocol within the system of documentation as a whole as it was in use in Roman Egypt?

The sources provide no direct answer to the question why the private protocol was favored so much in Oxyrhynchus for certain transactions and later in the Fayûm for other transactions, but, as far as our evidence goes, nowhere else, and normally not for transactions of a different kind. It certainly was not the nature of the transaction involved nor was it a difference in social conditions that, for instance, caused the people of Oxyrhynchus to give leases the form of a private protocol, while elsewhere the hypomnema or the chirograph were preferred. The reason why in other nomos the hypomnema became the regular form of the lease contract was, as V. Arangio-Ruiz has shown, the deep social chasm between the rich absentee landowner and the little farmer who had to apply to the owner for the favor of being allowed to toil a piece of the former's land. But the same chasm also separated lessors and lessees in the nome of Oxyrhynchus (21). Therefore I think that it was simply a local predilection, the cause of which we do not know, that had the Oxyrhynchites choose the private protocol. A similar reason must in the 3rd cent. have brought about the popularity of this form in the Fayûm where it was then in use side by side with the chirograph which was indeed by no means completely replaced by the new method (22).

The result of this survey is not without importance for the general history of documentation in Egypt. It proves that the various forms of the private document

were freely exchangeable, because none was legally required in setting up certain transactions. Which form was to be chosen was merely a question of individual taste or of local tradition or fashion.

FOOTNOTES

- 1) Two datelines in P. Michael. 23, P. Osl. III 138 (Oxyrh., A.D. 296, 323 resp.), SB. VIII 9917 (Fay., A.D. 303). Dateline as prescript in P. Harris 82, P. S. I. VI 707 (Oxyrh., A.D. 345, 351 resp.), P. Gen. 11=P. Abinn. 62, SB. VI 9603b (Fay., A.D. 350, 372 resp.).
- 2) Cf. H. J. Wolff, R. I. D. A. 3rd. ser. 8 (1961) p. 120f.
- 3) Cf. P. M. Meyer, Jur. Pap. (Berlin 1920) p. 105f., A. B. Schwarz, Die öfftl. u. priv. Urkunde im röm. Aeg. (Leipzig 1920) p. 58 n. 5.
- 4) See, e.g., SB. VI 9173, 9603b, VIII 9917, P. Cair. Isid. 90, P. New York Un. 22.
- 5) Cf. P. Oxy. X 1266, lines 17ff. (A.D. 98), IV 906, lines 8f. (2nd to 3rd cent.), B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, introd. to P. Oxy. X 1273, Schwarz, l. c. p. 18, 75.
- 6) Stud. zur Bodenpacht (Munich 1958) p. 22.
- 7) For practically complete lists cf. Herrmann, l. c. p. 274ff., also the introd. to P. Yale 69 and 70. Leases of other objects: P. Oxy. II 278=M. Chrest. 165 (A.D. 17), VII 1043 (A.D. 143), P. Merton II 76 (A.D. 181), P. Wisconsin 5 (A.D. 186). A sublease is P. Oxy. XLI 2974 (A.D. 162).
- 8) In the mass of material from Oxyrhynchus there are only four hypomnemata concerning private law arrangements (leases and one contract for services) antedating the 3rd cent.: P. Oxy. III 498, IV 810, XXXIII 2676, P. Vratislav. 4 (ed. A. Swiderek, Rech. de Papyr. 3 [1964] p. 98). *For the pre-Diocletian 3rd. cent. see P. Oxy. XIV 1630, 1631, XVII 2109 and 2137, P. Harris 80, P. S. I. X 1070, XIII 1330=SB. V 7991. Later texts listed by Herrmann, l. c.; add: P. Oxy. XXXI 2585, P. Mich. (Shelton) 611, P. Vratislav. 1 (ed. Swiderek, l. c. p. 100). *Earlier instances - such as P. Med. inv. 71.69 (ed. G. Casanova, Aeg. 54 1974, 72 ff.) of A.D. 108-9 - concern leases from the government.

- 9) The earliest text is SB.X 10236 of A.D.36. See furthermore B.G.U.IV 1021, P.Oxy.II 275=W.Chrest. 324, IV 725, XIV 1647, XXXI 2586, XXXVIII 2875, XLI 2971, 2977, P.Wiscons.4.
- 10) P.Brux.7918 (ed. van Rengen, Chron.d'Eg.48 [1973] p.314), P.Oxy.X 1278, XIV 1637, XXXI 2583.
- 11) B.G.U.IV 1062=W.Chrest.276, P.Harris 64, P.Leit. 13, P.Mich.(Shelton) 604, P.Osl.III 135, P.Oxy. XIV 1626, XXXVI 2769.
- 12) P.Oxy.X 1275, XXXIV 2721.
- 13) See P.Oxy.X 1273, XII 1473, also P.Oxy.IV 906, lines 8f., X 1266, lines 17ff. Cf. Grenfell-Hunt, introd. to P.Oxy.X 1273, Schwarz, l.c.p.5 n.2.
- 14) Die Personalangaben als Identifizierungsvermerke im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri (Berlin, 1968) p.62 n.12.
- 15) Cf. C.H.Youtie, T.A.P.A. 89 (1958) p.376 n.3.
- 16) P.Grenf.II 59 of A.D.189, Perhaps Stud.Pal.XX 10 of A.D.168.
- 17) Already observed by Herrmann, l.c.p.23, Hübsch, l.c.p.62.
- 18) P.Ath.24, P.Flor.I 14, 30, P.Cair.Isid.88, 90=SB.VI 9173, P.Cair.Isid.91, 92, 95, P.Mich. (Shelton) 606, P.New York Un.22,24, SB.IV 7385, VI 9155, 9603b, VIII 9916, Stud.Pal.XX 51=SB. I 5125, P.Thead.12. See furthermore: P.Cair. Isid.82 (exchange of liturgies), P.S.I.VIII 873, P.Mich.IX 574 (contracts for services), P.Cair.Isid.86, P.Gen.48=P.Abinn.60 (sales of animals).
- 19) P.Cair.Isid.86, P.S.I.VIII 873, P. Mich.IX 574.
- 20) P.Cair.Isid.86, P.Gen.48=P.Abinn.60; see also SB.VI 9155: προσεφώνησεν -- ἔχειν.
- 21) See, e.g., P.Princ.III 147=SB.X 10532, P.Oxy. III 501, VI 910, 911, VII 1036, XIV 1692, XXXVI 2795, SB.IV 7443. On the general question see V.Arangio-Ruiz, Studi in on.di E.Betti III (Milan 1962) p.1ff.
- 22) See, e.g., the chirographs B.G.U.VII 1649, P. Cair.Isid.80, 105, SB.IV 7467.

(Summary)

"Latin cursive documents from Vindolanda, south of Hadrian's Wall"
by R. P. Wright.

SITUATION. The fort of VINDOLANDA lies 2 miles (3.2 km.) SW of the fort of Housesteads on Hadrian's Wall. The main deposit of wooden tablets can be dated from pottery within A.D. 85-105, when the fort protected the Stanegate, or E.-W. Roman road from Corbridge to Carlisle. When Rome withdrew from the Lowlands of Scotland c. A.D. 100 the frontier was established probably along the Stanegate.

PLAN OF PRE-HADRIANIC FORT. Little is known about the Flavian and Trajanic occupations deeply buried on the east by the 3rd and 4th century forts, and fairly deeply on the west by the vicus. Work in 1972 located the early turf rampart on the south and in 1973 the south gateway. More evidence is needed to show whether the fort was in three parts and faced east.

THE BUILDING. To NW of the south gate lay four superimposed timber buildings. The second building, or level, contained most of the tablets, and the third level seven recessed stylus tablets. Other material included bones from food, leather goods and offcuts from its working on the site, and gear from tanning. Bracken had repeatedly been laid in great abundance to cover the floor, and in the moist conditions had acted as a preservative. As signs of burning can be seen on about one tenth of the tablets it appears that they were discarded documents only partially destroyed.

SYNOPSIS. 8 tablets were of the stylus type, recessed to carry wax. One stylus tablet had ink writing. The remaining 77 were thin flat slices of wood to take ink writing; of these 30 had no visible ink. Total: 86 tablets, or portions of tablets.

For ITEM 62, with 47, 33 see paper by Dr. A. K. Bowman who deals with these records of food and drink disbursed on certain days in June.

ITEM 11 (see Bowman, Thomas and Wright, Britannia v (1974) forthcoming). A list of purchases of various meats, spices and cereals for some group, perhaps the officers' mess, at Vindolanda. The variety of the meat is noteworthy.

ITEM 15 (see Bowman, Thomas and Wright ibid.). A personal letter with confronting faces. The writer had sent supplies of three types of clothing... He salutes friends and mess-mates, and ends with a greeting.

ITEM 1. A letter of recommendation asking the commanding officer to back the application of Karus (?).

ITEM 31. A letter to a Marcellus who may tentatively be identified from his titles with L.Neratius Marcellus, governor of Britain in A.D. 103

Acknowledgements are due to the Vindolanda Trustees and to Mr. R. E. Birley; to the British Museum Research Laboratory, and to Miss A. Rutherford, of the University Department of Photography of Newcastle upon Tyne. I am indebted to Dr. J. D. Thomas and Dr. A. K. Bowman for the main decipherment.

Alan K. Bowman and J. David Thomas, The Vindolanda writing tablets. 1974. (F. Graham, 6 Queen's Terrace, Newcastle upon Tyne. 40p. + 5p. postage).

A. K. Bowman Britannia v (1974), 'Roman military supply records from Vindolanda.'

A. K. Bowman, J. D. Thomas and R. P. Wright 'The Vindolanda writing tablets' in Britannia v as supplement to 'Roman Britain in 1973'
Full publication is planned in one of the volumes on the excavations at Vindolanda

COPTIC FRAGMENTS ON **NOY2**

Jean-Daniel Dubois

It was Professor J.W.B. Barns who encouraged me to work on the fragmentary text which I am about to present. And I have been fortunate to be able to discuss some of the issues of my work with him, before he died last January. It is to him that I should like to dedicate this paper.

These Coptic fragments belong to a collection of various theological documents owned by the British Museum. By courtesy of the Board of the British Library, I should like to present a tentative translation of the pieces of papyrus catalogued under the number Oriental 6808 (5). This text is identified as "Two fragments of homily ? (Sahidic)". According to the Assitant Keeper of the Reading Room of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, Mr. Silver, the handwriting of this identification could come from W. Crum. Professor Barns, however, did not recognize Crum's handwriting. I, myself, have not been able to trace in Crum's work any reference to this text.

And Miss L.S.B. MacCoull informed me that Crum always wrote the word "Sahidic" as "Sa'idic". It seems therefore unlikely that Crum identified these fragments.

This document consists mainly of three fragments of the same leaf. The upper part, the better preserved, measures seven inches wide by five and a half high, and contains thirteen lines. It is difficult to say how much of the upper part of the leaf is missing. The recto has the ends of the lines missing, especially in the upper right hand corner. About two thirds of the text are preserved, or can be reconstructed. On the verso the ink has faded and becomes often illegible, particularly in the centre.

The lower part of the document consists of two fragments. The smaller one is three inches wide by one and a half high. It contains the beginnings of four lines of the recto, or the ends of four lines of the verso. The larger fragment measuring six inches by three has the ends of seven lines of the recto, or the beginnings of seven lines of the verso. These two lower fragments have been wrongly stuck together. Having compared the breaks in the top fragment and the bottom two pieces, I should like to move the lower right hand fragment of the recto two inches to the right. This bottom fragment should be the bottom part of the leaf. This leads me to suppose that there are about two inches missing from the ends of the lines of the top part of the text.

This would correspond to about two to six missing letters in the lines seven to thirteen. I have not been able to determine exactly the number of missing lines between the upper part and the lower fragments.

As far as the writing is concerned, the general presentation of these fragments indicates a rather late date. Some letters appear in several different forms. The mejs are very wide; the tidas and kappas could have been written in the seven centuries. I would be inclined to date this text around the eight century.

Although most of the text seems to be Sahidic, the spelling of some words indicates Fayumic or Subachmimic influences. On the recto, for example:

- 1. 2 : **ⲉⲗⲁⲛⲁ** Subachmimic for **ⲉⲗⲁⲛ** to be distressed;
- 1. 12 (and 1.3 of the small lower fragment) **ⲉⲓⲥ** Fayumic for **ⲉⲓⲥ**;
- 1. 12 the form **ⲉⲓⲥⲏⲧⲁ** for the Sahidic **ⲉⲓⲥⲏⲧ** to find;
- 1. 7 of the larger bottom fragment the Fayumic **ⲙⲁⲃⲏ** for the Sahidic **ⲙⲁⲃ** the desert;
- 1. 8 the form **ⲙⲁⲃⲏⲧ** for the Sahidic **ⲙⲁⲃⲏⲧ** three, if the conjecture is right.

On the verso, the same Fayumic influence can be traced :

- 1. 2 **ⲕⲟⲧⲉ** for the Sahidic **ⲕⲟⲧⲉ** to turn;
- 1. 4 **ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲉ** for the Sahidic **ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲉ** to cut;
- 1. 3 of the larger bottom fragment **ⲉⲟⲃⲥ** for the Sahidic **ⲉⲟⲃⲥ** to cover.

One particular word stands out : **πλσε** , torn cloth or rag, appears with two different spellings, unattested elsewhere, as far as I know. In the lines 3 and 5 of the recto, and possibly in the line 4 of the verso, this term is spelt **ππλσι** ; in the line 13 of the recto it is spelt **γίελση** .

As for the content of these two sides, one word seems to run through the whole text, the word **ΝΟΥΣ** rope, cord or measuring line. It is the Coptic equivalent of the Greek **σχοίνιον** . On the recto it appears as a reference to the story of the prophet Jeremiah pulled out of the pit by Ebed Melech, the Ethiopian, with the help of "torn garments and ropes" (Jer XXXVIII, or LV according to the Bodmer text). Then, there is an explicit reference to the second chapter of the book of the minor prophet Zachariah where someone measures the city of Jerusalem with a measuring line (Zach II,1ff). The word **ΝΟΥΣ** is used four more times on the recto, and once on the verso (line 12). But I have not been able to trace the exact quotations.

The verso starts with a reference to the Proverbs of Solomon about the dog that returns to its vomit (XXVI,11; cf. II Pet II,22). It ends also with an introduction to a quotation from Proverbs. The central part of the upper fragment refers to entering and coming out of the Temple and out of the House of God. One biblical passage alludes to this kind of context; in the New Testament, the merchants are expelled from the Temple by Jesus who used a kind of

whip, the word **ΝΟΥΣ** again (John II,15; cp. Mk XI,15 and parallels). But an examination of the text of this passage is not conclusive. The uncertainties surrounding the readings of the two lower fragments and of the verso prevent for the moment any identification of more biblical echoes in this text.

The general character of this text and the existence of signs indicating new paragraphs in the margins would suggest that the text consists of fragments of a homily as the catalogue of the British Museum indicates. This text is certainly not a series of testimonia because of its paraphrastic style; there are not only references to the biblical text, but also allusions and perhaps references to non-biblical texts. Professor T. Orlandi kindly suggested to me that this text has the form of a collection of biblical references frequently used by preachers when preparing their sermons. The important use of the word **ΝΟΥΣ** would confirm this suggestion. If so much of this text can be reconstructed, it remains, however, to determine a possible historical or theological context for such a text, let alone to identify its author.

ΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΚΗ[±3] υαδε[± 15]
 ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ Δ[ερεδ] ραδϣ ερραιζ[Ν ±10]
 ΝΕ ΠΗΛΣΙ Ν[ο] [ε]ΙΤΕ] ΜΝ ΝΕΝΟΥΖ[±6 ΔΒΔε]
 ΜΕΛΕΚ ΠΕΣ[ω] υε παι νταυι[± 10]
 υηι νηλοιζε ρη νεπηλσι ν[ρ]οειτε ±4
 ΔΙΣΩΤΕΜ ΕΤΒΕΟΥ ΒΙΗ Δ [ε ±10]
 ΕΠΕΠ[Ν]Δ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΕΥΩΥ[·] [±5]
 ΖΗΤΑΠΡΟ ΜΠΚΟΥΙ ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΗ[ε]
 ΕΠΕΥΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΠΥΗΡΕΝ[ΙΔΔΟ]
 ΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΔΥΤΣΒΟΙ ΕΥΡΩΤΕ ΟΡΥ[Ι ±4]
 ΔΥΙ ΔΥΥΙ ΝΘΙΕΛΗΤ ΜΝΤΕΣΥΙΗ ΜΝ[ΤΕΛΟΥΕ]
 ΖΙΣ ΟΥΝΟΥΖ ΔΙΣΕΝΤΥ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ: Δ[Υ]ΔΟΟΣ
 ΔΕ ΟΥΝΟΥΖ ΜΠΕΛΣΗ: †ΣΩΤΕΜ[ε ±4]

ΣΔΙΔ·Π·[
 ΔΕΝΝΕΝΟΥΖ[
 ΖΙΣΚΕΝΝΟΥΖ[
 [·]ΠΕ ... [

[± 21
 [± 21
 [± 11
 [± 5
 [± 9

]... ΕΤΖΔΤΙ[±4]
] ΜΝ ΖΗΝΟΥΖ
] ΗΣ ΚΔΥΙ + ΝΔΥΔΕΝ
] ... ΔΥΙ ΡΕΝΤΕΤ
] ΖΟΙΝΝΕΝΟΥΖ· ΔΥΝΤΕΔΕ·
] ΟΣ[Δε] ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ ΖΗΤΗΥΑΒ
] ΠΠΝ]Δ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΟΥΝΟΥ·

[± 9] ΕΠΖΟ[+3] · 2Ε
 [± 5] υαυκατε[υεπ] ευκαβολ
 [± 5] Ζ] ΝΤΕΥΖΗΜ[± 3] ΝΤΕΝΤΕΡΑ
 [± 6] ΕΡΕΝΟΙ ΒΜ[βουε] ΟΥΕ ΔΕΝ ΝΕΙΠΗΛ
 [± 4] † ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΡΤΗ ····
 [± 6] Η ΕΡΤΕ ··· ΡΖΕ ··· ΠΝΟΥΤΕ[± 3]
 [± 6] ΖΣΟΥΝ · ΝΤΕ[·ε] ΒΟΛΜ·
 [± 4] ΝΕΡΕΠΛ ··· ΟΙΝΕΙ ··· †Υ ···
 [± 4] ΔΕΜ ··· Β ΕΤΙΚ ΖΕΡΕ · Ρ···
 [± 4] ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΕΡΤΗΙ ΠΕΤ ΝΕΙΥΑΔΕ
 [± 4] ··· [·] ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΡΤΙ Ε ΖΔΝ ΖΝ ΖΝ ΜΟΥΣ
 [± 4] ΠΗΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΗΝ ΝΕΝ ΝΟΥΖ
 [± 4] ΔΝ ΝΑΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΕΥΩΥ ΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 [± 4] ΝΕ ΒΗΟΥΝ ΝΤΕ ΕΤΡ ··· Δ ΕΤΑΙΝ

[·] ···· [] ··· ΟΥΤΕ·ΕΙ
 ΡΟΥ ΕΡΜ[] Φ ΕΝΤΕΥ ΜΕΤ
 ΝΤΕ Π ΔΙΑΒΟΛ[ΟC]] ΕΡΖΟΒC ΝΜΕΡ
 Τ ··· ΩΥ ··· []
 ΝΑΙ ΕΡΕΤΟΥΔΝ ···· []
 ΕΙ ΡΑ ··· ΔΕ ΒΜ ΒΟΜ ··· [·]·
 } ΕΤΒΕ ΠΔΙ ΣΩΤΕΜ ΕΣΟΛΟΜ[ΟΝ]

I TRANSLATION

The recto runs as follows :

1. 1 : ... altar (?)¹⁾ another ...word ...
1. 2 : Jeremiah was in distress...
1. 3 : the cloth rags and the ropes...
1. 4 : (Ebed) Melech, the Ethiopian, went (to Jeremiah
and pulled him out of the)
1. 5 : mud pit with cloth rags...
1. 6 : I²⁾ heard about the measure...
1. 7 : (from) the Holy Spirit proclaiming...
1. 8 : through the mouth of the minor prophet
1. 9 : whose name is Zachariah, the son of (Iddo³⁾ saying)
1.10 : I have been shown the men; measure ! ...
1.11 : he went and he measured Jerusalem, the length and
(the width of it)
1.12 : and there was a cord, I found it there; he said
1.13 : a rope of rag; I hear...

The smaller bottom fragment runs as follows :

1. 1 : I)saiah⁴⁾ ...
1. 2 : that the ropes...
1. 3 : there is other ropes
1. 4 : ...the...

The larger bottom fragment runs as follows :

1. 1 : ... which judges
1. 2 : ... with ropes
1. 3 : ...
1. 4 : ... he did
1. 5 : ... with some ropes; they did
1. 6 : ... (saying) Jeremiah in the desert⁵⁾
1. 7 : the Holy Spirit, a big...⁶⁾

II TRANSLATION

The verso is even more incomplete :

1. 1 : ...
1. 2 : he used to return to its vomit
1. 3 : ... in his fall
1. 4 : ... I will not be able to cut the garments
1. 5 : ... I went into the Temple ...
1. 6 : ...
1. 7 : ... out of ...
1. 8 : ...
1. 9 : ... while you ...
1.10 : ... out of the Temple . I who said
1.11 : ... out of the Temple with some bands
1.12 : ... the House of God with some ropes
1.13 : ... of Adam and all his sons
1.14 : ...

The larger bottom fragment runs as follows :

- 1.1 : ...
1.2 : him
1.3 : the devil...
1.4 : ...

- 1.5 : ...
 1.6 : ...
 1.7 : With reference to this, listen to (the Proverbs) of Solomon...

In the smaller bottom fragment, I read : 1.3, He covers...

++++++

NOTES

- 1) Cf. **Θυριαστήριον** or **ἄρνευστήριον**.
 2) Or "he" **αυ...**
 3) Zachariah, son of Iddo (Esdr V,1; VI,14; Neh XII,16) rather than Zachariah son of Barachias (Zach I,1 or Math XXIII,35).
 4) Cf. **Ἡςκία πεπροφητης** ?
 5) Cf. **ψαθ(η** ?
 6) Cf. perhaps **πηνψαωτ** the third ?

J e a n B I N G E N
 LE MILIEU URBAIN DANS LA CHÔRA ÉGYPTIENNE
 À L'ÉPOQUE PTOLÉMAÏQUE

Le titre que j'ai donné à la présente communication a ceci de trompeur, que, dans une communication d'une vingtaine de minutes, je ne pourrai développer que quelques considérations méthodologiques et des conclusions sommaires. Tout effort pour décrire les composantes et les structures socio-économiques de la population de la chôra à l'époque ptolémaïque se heurte à une première difficulté sur le plan des sources. Celles-ci forment des ensembles discontinus dans le temps et l'espace, ignorent certaines périodes, certaines régions, et reflètent inégalement les différents groupes de la population de la chôra. Dorothy Crawford (1971) a pu donner une image très fouillée du village de Kerkéosiris pour quelques décennies ; nous n'en connaissons presque rien pour les deux siècles qui précèdent, et nous ignorons dans quelle mesure nous pouvons généraliser le tableau que l'auteur nous en donne. Mais le mal est surtout grave pour les métropoles de nome. Pour aucune d'elles, nous ne disposons pour une période même brève d'une documentation qui ait quelque consistance. Et ceci nous condamne à travailler par échantillonnages extrêmement étroits.

Etudiant récemment (Bingen 1973) un aspect des structures de la société rurale ptolémaïque, j'avais constaté que, dans la campagne, dans les villages, les Grecs, et plus spécialement les clérouques, sont beaucoup moins présents que les sources ne pouvaient le faire croire, que le Grec est souvent un élément de passage, ou bien le nom d'un absent, même si de nouvelles installations de clérouques, de nouvelles arrivées d'immigrants tendent à première vue à affermir l'implantation grecque dans la chôra. Mais, si ce Grec est souvent ailleurs, où le trouver ? Il sera dans certains cas à Alexandrie ; il peut être itinérant, ou mobilisé. Mais le Grec apparaît souvent, et, dès le IIIe siècle, fixé d'une manière plus ou moins permanente dans une métropole de nome. C'est ce milieu là qu'il me semblait urgent d'étudier. En fait, l'enquête est doublement décevante : d'abord par la pauvreté des sources, je l'ai dit, mais aussi par le poids de quelques idées qu'on répète, et qui sont surtout dues au fait que le milieu urbain qu'on a voulu chercher dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque est celui de l'époque impériale et que nous ne l'y trouvons pas. Projection toute négative, puisqu'elle a fait conclure par certains à la non-existence d'un milieu urbain, du moins organisé "comme tel", avant le règne d'Auguste.

Le milieu urbain de la chôra que je voudrais évoquer sommairement ici, ce n'est pas Naucratis ou Ptolémaïs. Par une sorte de règle du genre, ces cités encombrant automatiquement avec Alexandrie toute étude du milieu urbain dans les quelques ouvrages qui, de Jouguet aux excellentes *Binnenwanderungen* de Braunert, parlent des villes de l'Égypte. Faute de temps, malheureusement, je n'évoquerai pas non plus Memphis la cosmopolite, ou bien Thèbes l'Égyptienne. Nous les connaissons mal pour la haute époque ptolémaïque. Je le regrette, car on sent que ces deux villes ont été des communautés importantes, deux types différents de milieu urbain oriental, et qu'on y retrouverait à une grande échelle des caractéristiques de ce que fut au départ, mais à une échelle plus fruste, le chef-lieu de nome que je voudrais étudier. Or, j'y reviendrai, la métropole au départ prolonge une communauté égyptienne préexistante d'une certaine ampleur, d'une certaine vitalité. C'est se tromper de sens de l'histoire, d'y chercher le bourgeois rachimique de la future métropole romaine. Notre documentation, du moins la documentation grecque, si je ne veux pas aborder le problème de Memphis ou de la Thébàide, se fondera presque exclusivement sur les quelques recoupements qui nous font connaître Crocodilopolis au IIIe et au IIe siècle. Faut-il dire qu'on aimerait approfondir les faits qui se dégagent des cartonnages de Hibeh et qui semblent donner l'image (négative pour notre propos) d'une campagne où les choses tournent sur place ou se règlent avec Alexandrie ? Cette documentation manque malheureusement d'une densité suffisante pour être représentative.

Mais, pour l'Arsinoïte, ouvrons ici une parenthèse, pour voir, pour un seul ensemble, ce que peut donner la méthode par échantillonnage dispersé à laquelle nous nous condamnons si nous nous obstinons à étudier la population de la métropole du nome. L'exemple le plus favorable pour le IIIe siècle (et pourtant il est bien pauvre) est constitué par la série des *Enteuxeis* réunies en 1931 par Oscar Guéraud. Douze textes sur une centaine font allusion à la métropole, dont six ou sept vraiment intéressants, ce qui est peu. L'humour gardant toujours sa place dans les papyrus, l'amateur y trouvera une histoire de belle de nuit détournée de ses devoirs filiaux, et, dans la pétition 49, du Ménandre crocodilopolitain, avec un père berné attaquant la courtisane Dèmo qui, avec quelques complices, a réussi à arracher une traite de 1.000 dr. au jeune Sopôlis. On y est dans le milieu urbain et ses blandices fatales aux familles ! Il y a beaucoup plus intéressant, et sur deux plans différents. D'une part, il y a, parmi ces textes du IIIe siècle, ceux qui nous montrent des Grecs domiciliés dans le chef-lieu du nome et qui ont des intérêts directs dans la campagne, soit qu'il y ait un klêros que le Grec fait exploiter, soit qu'il y soit propriétaire d'immeubles. Ensuite, deux autres textes, sans grande signification au premier examen, nous alertent à un autre point de vue, ce sont les pétitions d'Égyptiens d'un certain niveau social : a) un ἐρτέμφορος égyptien, mar-

chand de laine associé peut-être à un bailleur de fonds grec, est en conflit avec un éleveur juif de moutons (*P. Ent.* 2) ; b) deux propriétaires égyptiens de tissages de lin demandent de pouvoir faire démolir leurs anciennes installations pour les remplacer par deux nouveaux ateliers qui permettront de mieux fournir au roi (*P. Ent.* 5). Textes banals sans doute, mais qui nous font regretter de ne pas mieux connaître le milieu égyptien des métropoles, un milieu certainement mieux organisé, mieux équipé culturellement et économiquement que la paysannerie égyptienne de l'Arsinoïte, souvent déracinée, telle que la décrivent les sources grecques plus anciennes que les *Enteuxeis* (cf., par exemple, Bingen 1970).

Et ceci nous ramène à ma remarque d'il y a un instant : la métropole ptolémaïque ne doit-elle pas être considérée comme un élément de fait, plutôt qu'être niée parce qu'il n'y a pas encore de gestion urbaine de type municipal ou autre ? Car on n'a pas été tendre pour la métropole ptolémaïque. N'est-ce pas Jones (1937, p. 329) qui écrit que les métropoles "had been in Ptolemaic times, mere villages, that is mere aggregations of population, distinguished from the other villages only in being the seat of government for the surrounding region". Les mots "other villages" sont particulièrement cruels, mais prenons-les *cum grano salis*, autant que les 33.333 villes que Théocrite prête à l'Égypte des Ptolémées. Braunert, qui dans ses *Binnenwanderungen* nous a donné une analyse brève mais intéressante de l'évolution de la métropole, encore qu'une analyse axée sur le problème des déplacements de population, Braunert n'hésite pas à citer Jones et à insister sur la similitude du genre de vie des villages et des métropoles, particulièrement dans le Fayoum (1964, p. 83). Chez eux comme déjà chez Jouguet (1941), ce qui caractérisait les métropoles ptolémaïques, c'est qu'elles n'ont pas les organes d'autogestion plus ou moins autonomes des métropoles d'époque romaine, et Jones comme Braunert situent le rapide épanouissement des villes sous et immédiatement après Auguste dans un phénomène d'urbanisation à l'échelle de l'Empire, avec un accès généralisé à une autonomie limitée.

En fait, cette théorie de la métropole-village de l'époque ptolémaïque et de la naissance augustéenne de la métropole-ville est une vue qui n'est fondée que sur l'ambiguïté de la notion de ville ou de πόλις. Dans la mesure où notre ignorance de la gestion des métropoles ptolémaïques nous permet de décider quelque chose, cela n'est vrai que si nous décidons qu'il n'y a ville que là où il y a cité plus ou moins chargée de son propre destin. N'est-ce pas une erreur que de prendre ici une "autogestion", si limitée soit elle, ou une définition purement "institutionnelle" comme un critère d'existence ou de non-existence de la ville. Je crains que nous ne soyons là conditionnés par cette image familière de notre éducation, la ville médiévale qui naît de la collation de privilèges d'autono-

mie politique ou économique par le seigneur. Très souvent, le socio-économique a précédé l'organisation institutionnelle qui a donné aux cités du moyen âge et des temps modernes une certaine image que nous prêtons volontiers aux cités antiques ou aux municipes romains. En fait, ce qui oppose la ville au village, c'est que la ville est un catalyseur d'échanges économiques, culturels ou politiques, qui dépassent l'environnement immédiat de la cité et le rayon d'exploitation personnelle du sol, catalyseur d'autant plus actif que la dimension de la cité ou la diversification de son potentiel économique et culturel sont plus importantes. Or, ici il y a une première remarque à faire. Les métropoles de nome n'ont jamais été des créations des Ptolémées, elles se sont imposées à eux par leur existence même. Krokodilopolis, Herakleopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Hermopolis, les métropoles du Delta, les autres, ont un passé souvent prestigieux. On peut discuter de l'importance du rôle politique et religieux que ces cités possédaient encore à l'arrivée d'Alexandre le Grand, mais elles existent puisqu'elles ont été reprises en bloc comme base de l'organisation première de l'Égypte macédonienne lorsqu'elle est passée du régime de l'occupation militaire à celui de l'administration royale. Ce qui frappe, c'est qu'il n'y a pas eu d'hésitations ; c'est que le choix s'est fait en fonction non du préalable territorial des nomes, mais bien de l'implantation de la capitale du nome, implantation qui n'est pas due aux hasards. Il y a un centre religieux qui semble avoir assuré une certaine unité au nome. Mais le bourg qui a permis au centre religieux de prospérer, son importance n'est pas là par hasard. Elle est liée à un certain nombre de possibilités économiques et a fait naître un certain nombre de traditions administratives, de règles de vie en commun et de modes d'arbitrages entre les membres des groupes qui y sont installés. Ces traditions administratives ont dû être importantes, puisque c'est là probablement que les Ptolémées ont trouvé la classe des hauts fonctionnaires égyptiens, les basilicogrammates, les nomarques, auxquels ils ont réservé des tâches importantes, même si ce n'étaient que des tâches d'exécution. Le bourg est souvent d'abord un port, un débarcadère privilégié. Le port, le temple, et ajoutez-y la garnison et le tribunal, les métiers aussi, ont créé ce catalyseur qu'est la ville, même en léthargie, et où les campagnes trouvent l'ouverture sur autre chose que le rythme fermé de l'économie du village. Prenons les "archives" de Zénon, pourtant toutes tournées vers Alexandrie et Memphis, et si caractéristiques de l'échelle royale de la gestion de l'Égypte. Krokodilopolis y apparaît comme autre chose que Philadelphie. C'est là que la banque ouvre des crédits plus grands, c'est là que l'autorité villageoise va trouver la force de police nécessaire pour retrouver des paysans ou des artisans en fuite, c'est là qu'est entendue la justice royale, qu'est la prison centrale, qu'est organisée l'irrigation. C'est là que le serment royal ou le testament seront couchés sur papier pour leur donner plus d'autorité. Au même moment, le *P. Rev. Laws*, qui distingue $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\iota$ et $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ des nomes, marque bien

les trois niveaux de l'économie dans le commerce de distribution de l'huile : le village, la ville et Alexandrie (47, 10 - 48, 18). A cette époque, il est vrai, le pouvoir local délégué par le roi macédonien est déjà installé. Mais ce qui précisément m'intéresse, c'est que c'est là qu'il s'est installé, et qu'il a installé sans hésitation ses garnisons et ses scribes dans le chef-lieu égyptien préexistant. Jouguet ne l'ignore pas, mais combien sa réaction est-elle caractéristique. Face à Philadelphie la Grecque et ses rues en damier, (je le cite) "de vieilles villes avec leurs entassements d'étroites maisons en briques crues, leurs ruelles sinueuses, leurs tas d'ordures près des murailles ou même au coin des murailles" (p. 47). Il est vrai que Jouguet concède aussitôt que Naucratis ne devait pas valoir mieux. Et Paris, Londres ou Bruges au moyen âge ? Mais, continue-t-il, "de Philadelphie ou de Krokodilopolis, où est la ville, où est le village ?", Philadelphie, conçue par un urbaniste arpenteur, ou Krokodilopolis la malodorante ? Ne tombons pas avec lui et avec d'autres dans ce que j'appelle le mirage du gymnase.

Le gymnase de village est un élément très utilisé dans l'étude des rapports ville/village dans la chôra à l'époque ptolémaïque, mais à tort et dans la même erreur de perspective. La présence simultanée de gymnases dans les métropoles et dans ce qu'on appelle les villages ptolémaïques, a été souvent retenue comme une preuve importante de ce que la métropole n'était qu'un village ; la disparition du gymnasiarque rural au début de l'Empire romain a été considérée comme une conséquence de la municipalisation du chef-lieu. Certes, nous trouvons dans des villages, à Philadelphie, à Samaria, à Théadelphie par exemple, des gymnases, une organisation éphébique, des associations religieuses grecques. C'est même un des centres d'intérêt de l'épigraphie ptolémaïque du Fayoum. Mais c'est un critère négatif que de considérer l'existence du gymnase de village comme preuve que la métropole, avec son gymnase, ne diffère pas du village. En fait ces gymnases et associations de village se situent sur un plan autre que celui, purement théorique de l'opposition village/polis, une spéculation étrangère à l'implantation des Grecs autour de et dans la cuvette du Fayoum. Ces fondations *sui generis*, inspirées certes par des modèles urbains grecs, ne sont qu'une des formes de l'organisation sociale d'une des ethnies qui peuplent l'Égypte ptolémaïque. Ce qui est significatif, c'est que ce qu'il y avait d'inviabilité dans ces schémas implantés artificiellement dans un paysage purement agricole, n'a pas résisté à l'usure du temps. La mise à norme des villages a fait disparaître les gymnases et certaines organisations de type urbain comme l'éphébie. Cela n'a rien à voir avec la naissance tardive d'un milieu urbain. Tout au plus, le phénomène est-il lié à la concentration progressive d'une bourgeoisie de détenteurs de terre dans les métropoles, concentration qui a accéléré la mutation de celles-ci.

En effet, dès le III^e siècle apparaissent les premiers témoignages directs de l'exploitation du kléros par un paysan au profit d'un Grec domicilié dans la métropole. Dans le *P. Rev. Laws*, on prévoit un taux privilégié d'ἀπόμοιρα pour le clérouque absent pour autant qu'il soit en même temps l'exploitant, ce qui reconnaît implicitement l'exploitation possible par un tiers non privilégié. Très rapidement, les exemples se multiplient et, au milieu du II^e siècle, le terme γεωργοῦντες peut désigner des entrepreneurs agricoles vivant à Krokodilopolis et faisant exploiter des terres publiques par des paysans généralement égyptiens. On sait, et Madame Pavlovskaya (1973) vient de le répéter récemment, qu'en Égypte hellénistique, l'exploitation par des fermiers locataires est pour celui qui dispose de la terre une forme d'exploitation plus rentable que l'exploitation directe par des esclaves ou par des salariés. Dans les papyrus de Tebtynis de la fin du II^e siècle, ce type d'exploitation concurrence largement l'exploitation directe par le clérouque grec. Et cette tendance ne pourra que s'accroître avec l'évolution rapide de la tenure vers une disposition stable, puis libre de la terre concédée. Elle s'accroîtra encore par l'apparition des Alexandrins, particulièrement des associations d'exploitants agricoles alexandrins dans la chôra au I^{er} siècle, phénomène qui apparaît à Braunert comme un des éléments de la mutation des rapports ville/village.

Ainsi, dans la seconde moitié de l'époque ptolémaïque, se regroupent dans la métropole les composantes de la future métropole romaine et se stabilise l'opposition κώμη/πόλις. Ce serait une erreur de réduire cette opposition à une opposition paysannerie/gens de ville, ou à une opposition de Grecs et d'Égyptiens, car rien ne donnerait une idée plus fautive de l'évolution des nomes. En effet, c'est au même moment qu'on voit naître simultanément, d'une part, une classe de petits notables de village, Menchès des *P. Tebt.* en est un exemple, classe qui remplira les petites liturgies rurales du Haut-Empire, et, d'autre part, la classe des notables de la ville dont sortiront les archontes et les stratèges. Mais les structures nouvelles du nome et de la métropole que symbolisent ces magistrats sont en grande partie acquises avant la vague d'urbanisation de l'époque julienne. Elles s'inscrivent dans ce qui est à la fois une évolution et un retour à la norme hellénistique ou même hellénique, telle que l'a dégagée Claire Préaux, avec ses composantes telles que le droit à la possession de la terre ou la vie en milieu urbain sur le produit de fermages. Ce n'est pas la seule mise à norme qui ait joué, mais les autres n'étaient pas contradictoires : le retour de sites comme Philadelphie au type purement rural qui leur était naturel, - l'usure des structures royales de gestion qui conduit à une plus grande autonomie de l'organisation du nome, - le développement inévitable dans cette autonomie d'un certain nombre de schémas politiques plus ou moins conscients, qui, avec l'aide du pouvoir romain, prendront la forme de la métropole des archontes, d'autant plus vi-

able qu'elle sert Rome en protégeant la minorité privilégiée.

A elles seules, ces tendances, latentes dès le III^e siècle, expliquent la profonde évolution du phénomène urbain de type oriental que les Grecs ont trouvé en Égypte au IV^e siècle. Rien n'oblige à voir la métropole de l'Égypte romaine comme un apport extérieur ou même comme le fruit d'une mutation incitée de l'extérieur. Elle est l'aboutissement de l'évolution qui a mené sous les Lagides le chef-lieu du nome, milieu urbain incontestable, de la métropole des πολιτεύματα à celle des grands notables.

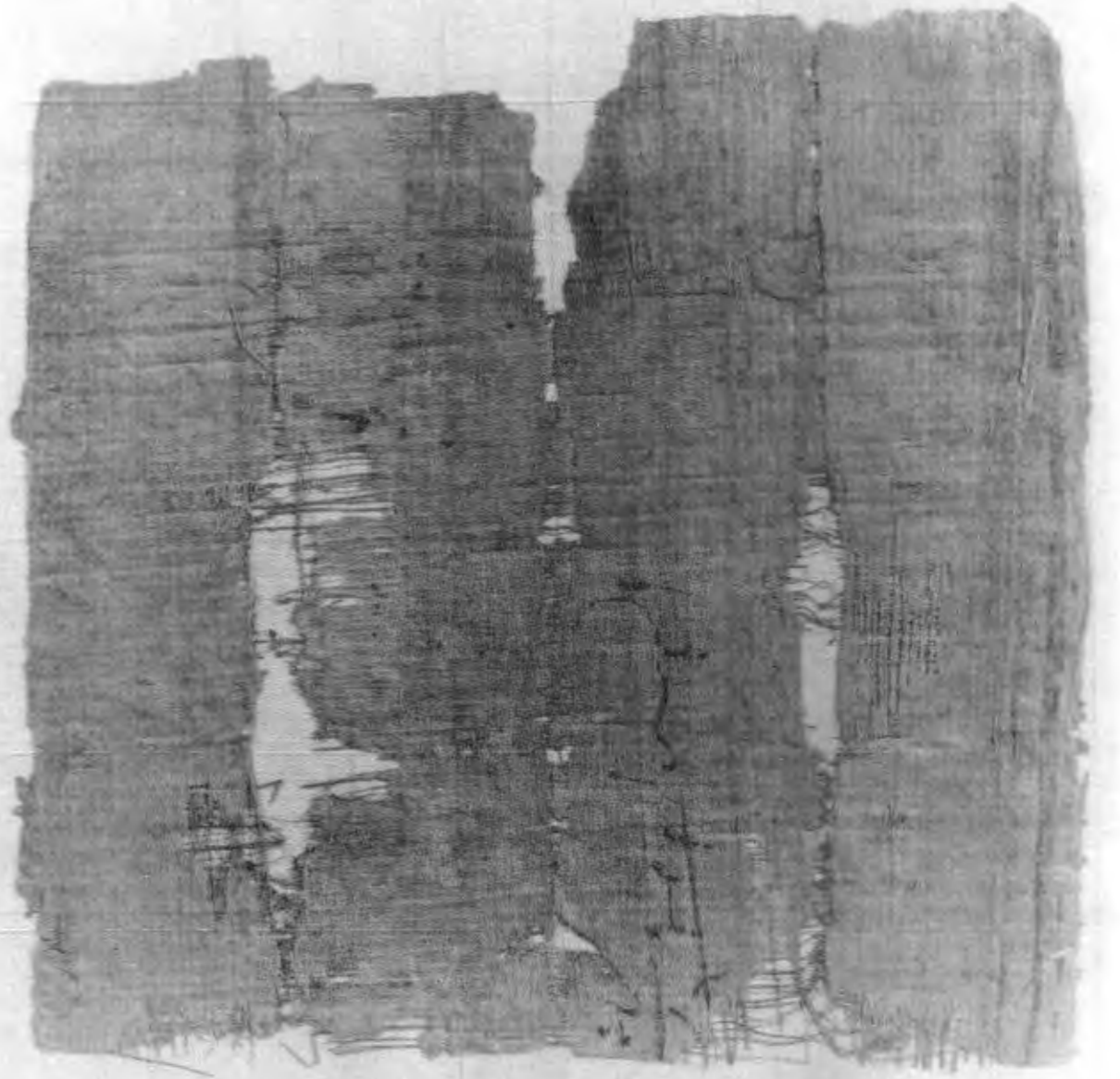
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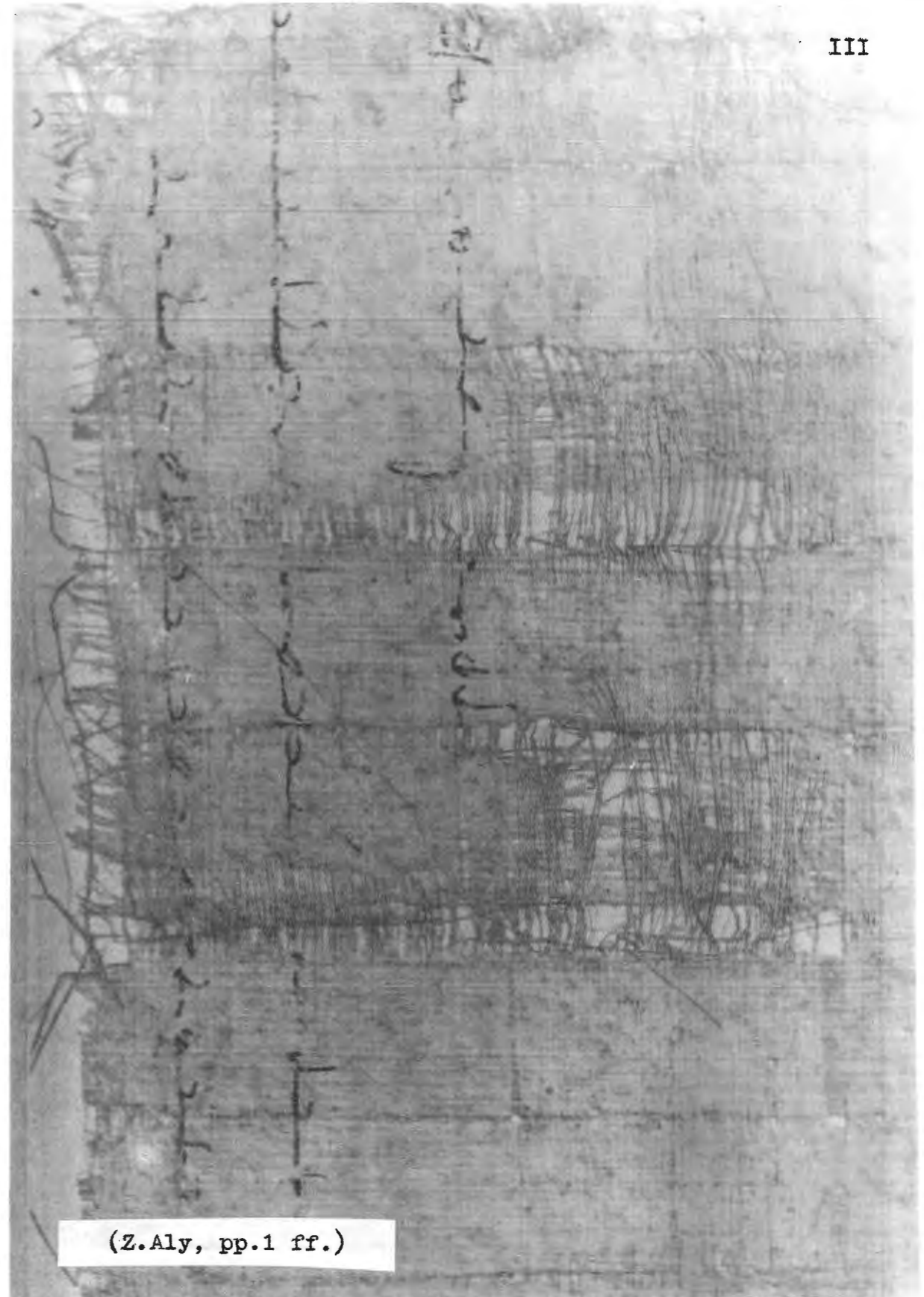


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(Z. Aly, pp.1 ff.)



(Z.Aly, pp.1 ff.)



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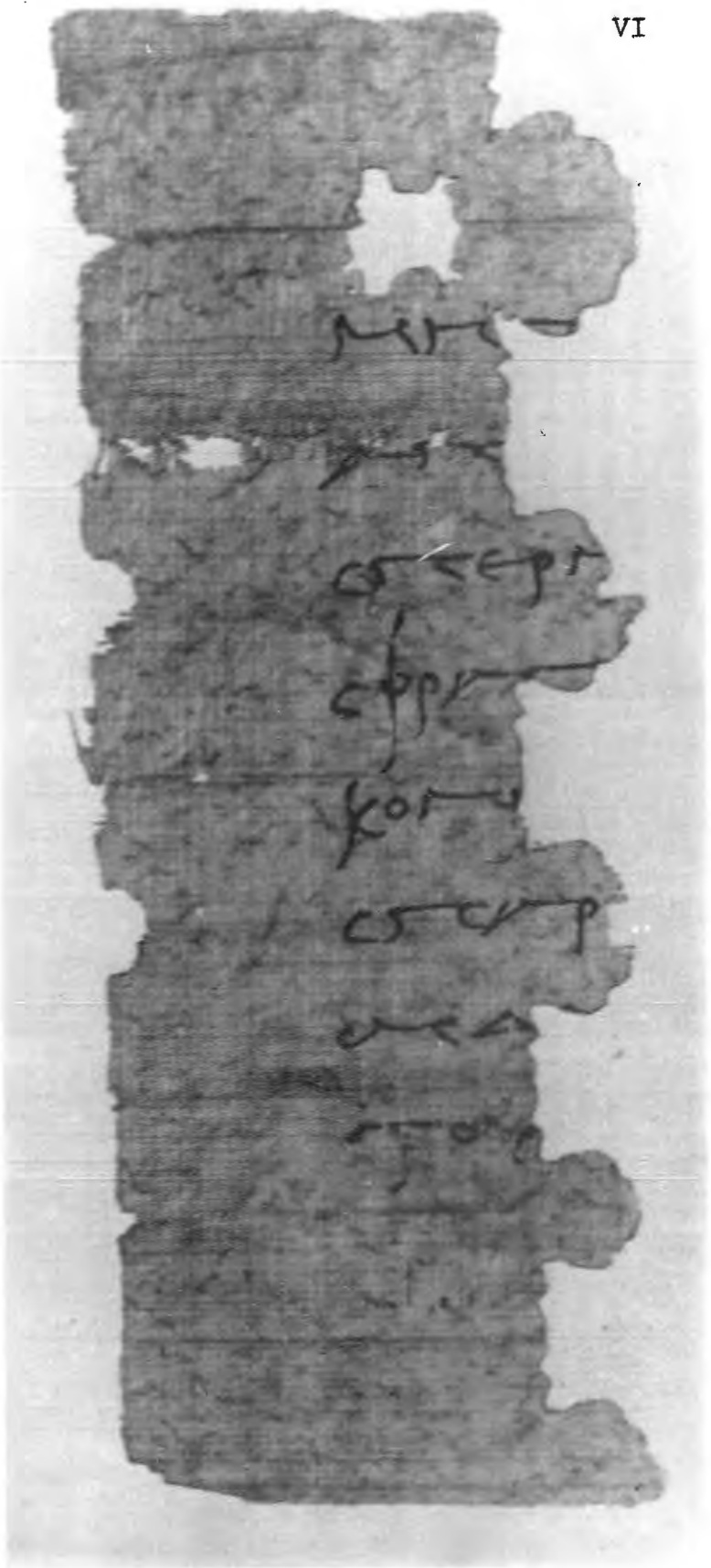
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(Z.Aly, pp.1 ff.)

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(Z.Aly, pp.1 ff.)



(Z.Aly, pp.1 ff.)

(Barrandon, J.-N., Irigoin, J., and Schiffmacher, G., pp. 7 ff.)

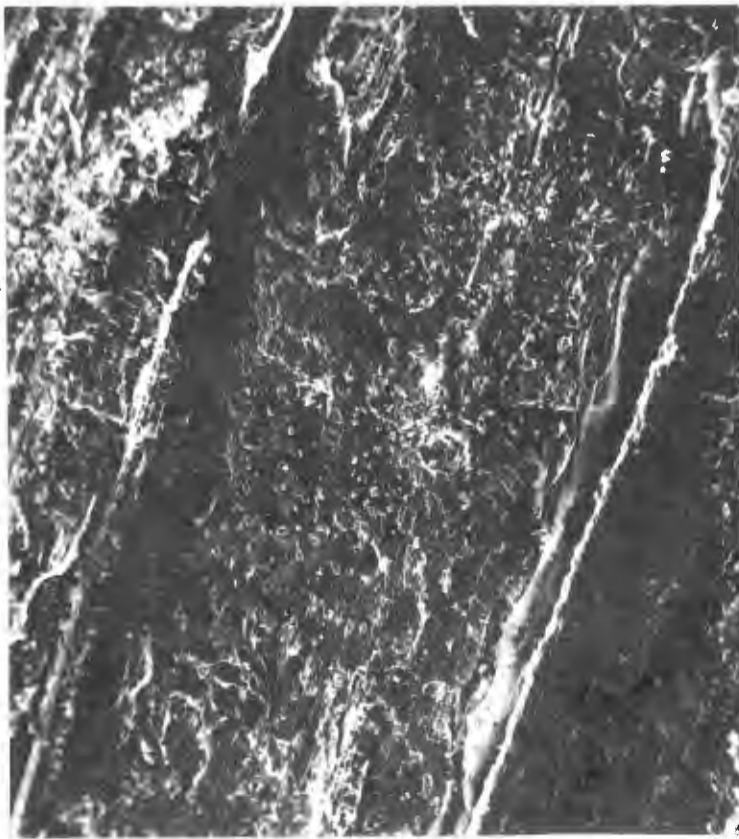


Figure 1 (40x)

Face A du fragment 1 : les grandes lignes obliques en fort relief sont deux fibres; la surface qui les sépare ne présente pas de structure régulière.



Figure 2 (40x)

Face B du même fragment : une fibre nette en haut; une autre à la limite de la partie foncée et de la partie claire; la surface présente une structure végétale très régulière (suite de petits rectangles alignés).

(Barrandon, J.-N., Irigoin, J., and Schiff-
macher, G., pp. 7 ff.)

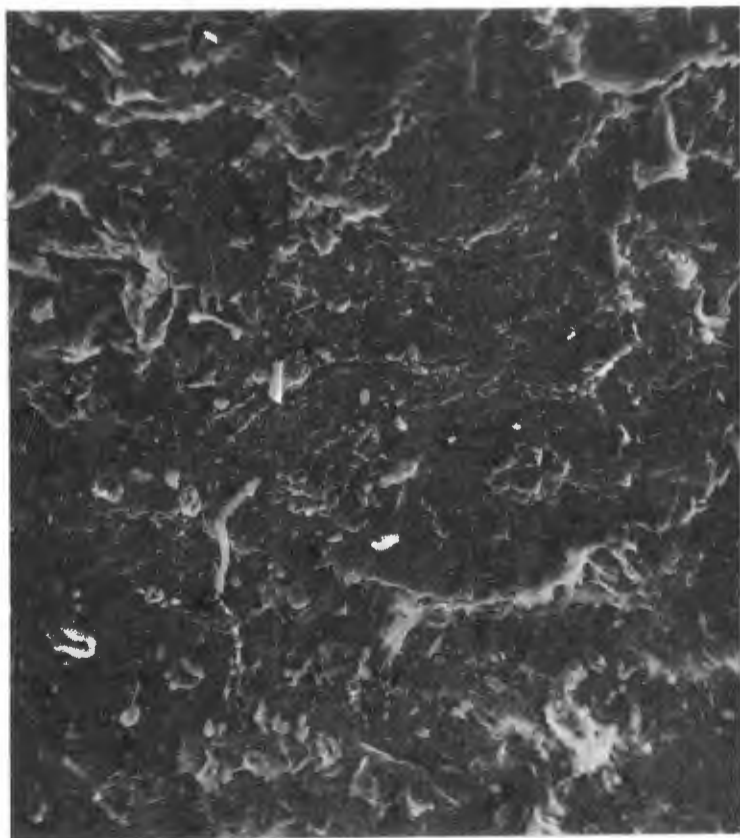


Figure 3 (200x)

Face A du fragment 1 : surface irrégulière, dépourvue de structure et parsemée de petits blocs anguleux (voir la figure 5).

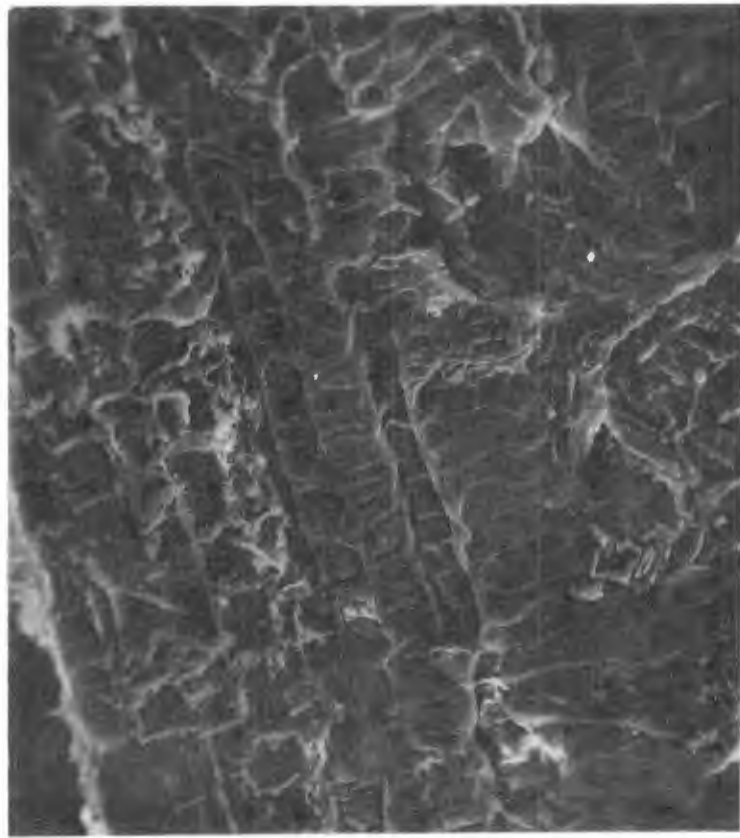


Figure 4 (200x)

Face B du même fragment : structure végétale formée de loges rectangulaires de proportions variées, alignées selon un axe NNW-SSE (voir la figure 7).

(Barrandon, J.-N., Irigoin, J., and Schiffmacher, G., pp. 7 fr.)

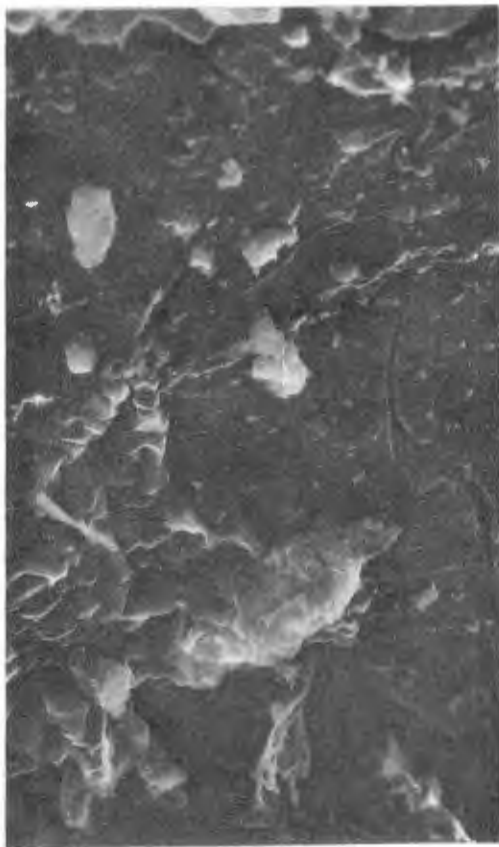


Figure 5 (1000x)

Centre de la figure 3 : des amas irréguliers en bas à gauche; ailleurs la surface est assez lisse, avec une fente en S vers la droite; ici et là, des blocs anguleux.



Figure 6 (1000x)

Face B du fragment 1 : des loges rectangulaires (vues en perspective) avec, ici et là, des amas de billes sphériques dont le diamètre est de 5 à 10 microns (un micron = un millième de mm).



Figure 7 (1000x)

Centre de la figure 4 : les loges, étroites vers la gauche, allongées ailleurs, sont aplaties comme sous l'effet d'un écrasement (polissage?).

(Barrandon, J.-N., Irigoin, J., and Schiffmacher, G., pp. 7 fr.)



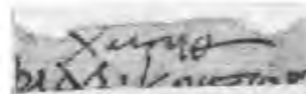
Figure 8 (200x)

Fragment 2 : sur la partie centrale, une portion de bande (0,25 mm de largeur) a disparu; dans l'espace libre, on aperçoit la face interne d'une bande inférieure dont la surface est assez lisse, avec une fente vers le milieu.



Figure 9 (1000x)

Détail du centre de la figure 8 : la surface lisse, sillonnée de stries parallèles, est couverte de quelques blocs anguleux; cette surface semble être un enduit, dont la fente centrale laisse entrevoir l'épaisseur.



P.Sorb. inv. 2291,
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P. Sorb. inv. 2386, 1. 1



P. Sorb. inv. 2385, 1. 1



SB 7758, 1. 1



P. Lond. V 1714, 1. 1



P. Sorb. inv. 2356, 1. 1



P. Grenf. II CXIIa



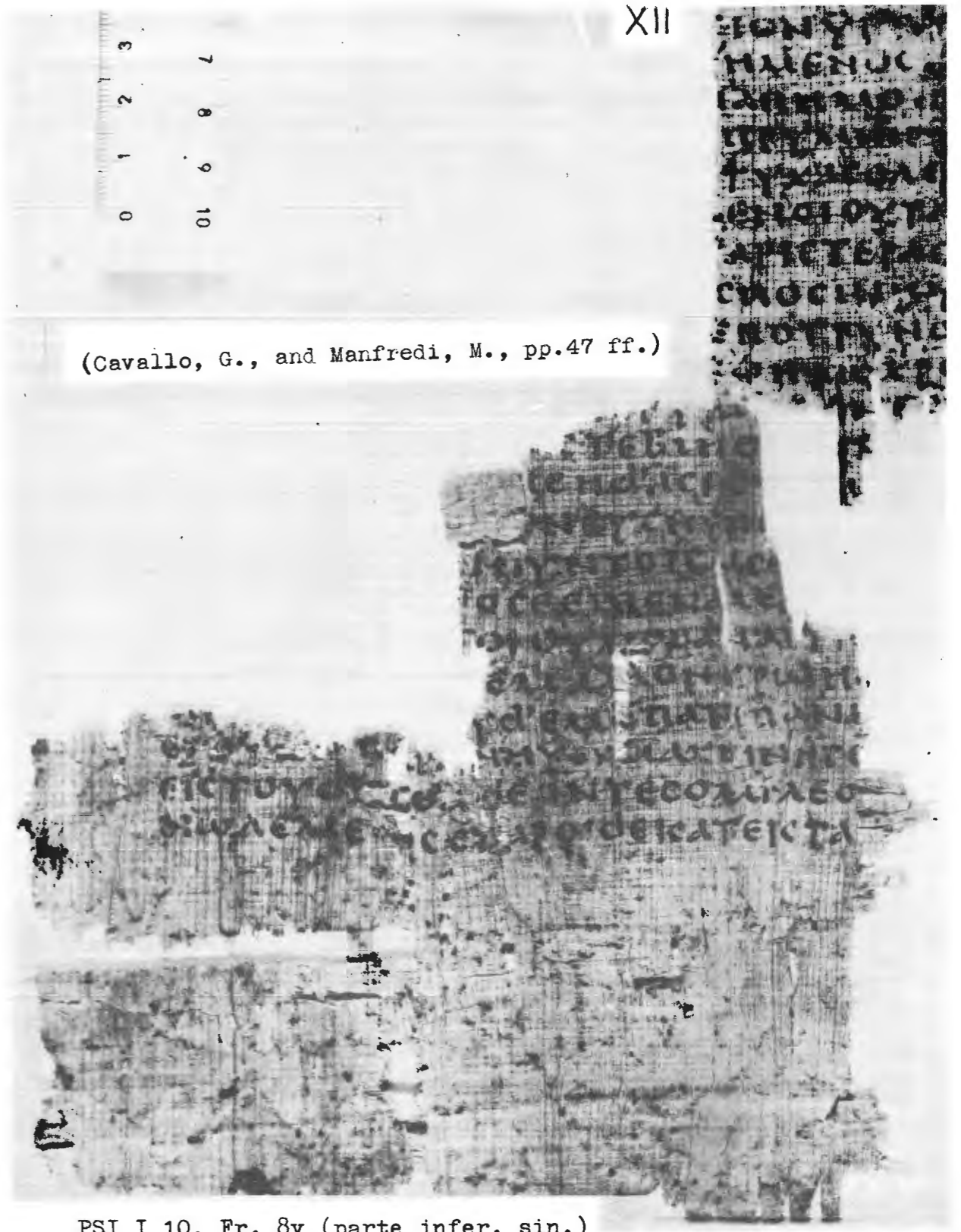
P. Sorb. inv. 2382, 1. 8

Alain Blanchard, Sur quelques interprétations de $\chi\upsilon\upsilon$

(pp.19 ff.)



(Cavallo, G., and Manfredi, M., pp.47 ff.)



PSI I 10, Fr. 8v (parte infer. sin.)



PSI XIII 1348, Pag. 4, rr. 21 ss.

(Cavallo, G., and Manfredi, M., pp.47 ff.)

(Cavallo, G., and Manfredi, M., pp. 47 ff.)

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κλονοβιβλαν
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Cod.Laur. Pandette, I 1, f° 5r (parte infer. sin.; ingrandita) (gentile concessione Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana)

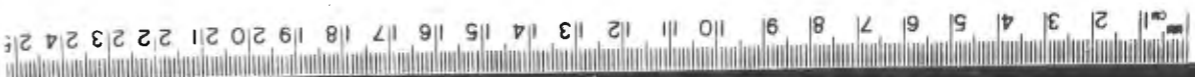
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(W.E.H.Cockle, pp.59 ff.)

LIST OF ODES OF EPAGATHUS THE CHORAL FLAUTIST
Onychinus Parcel 31. Box 4 B13/H (4-5)(e)

(E.W.Handley, pp.133 ff.)



XVII



P.Ryl.I 16

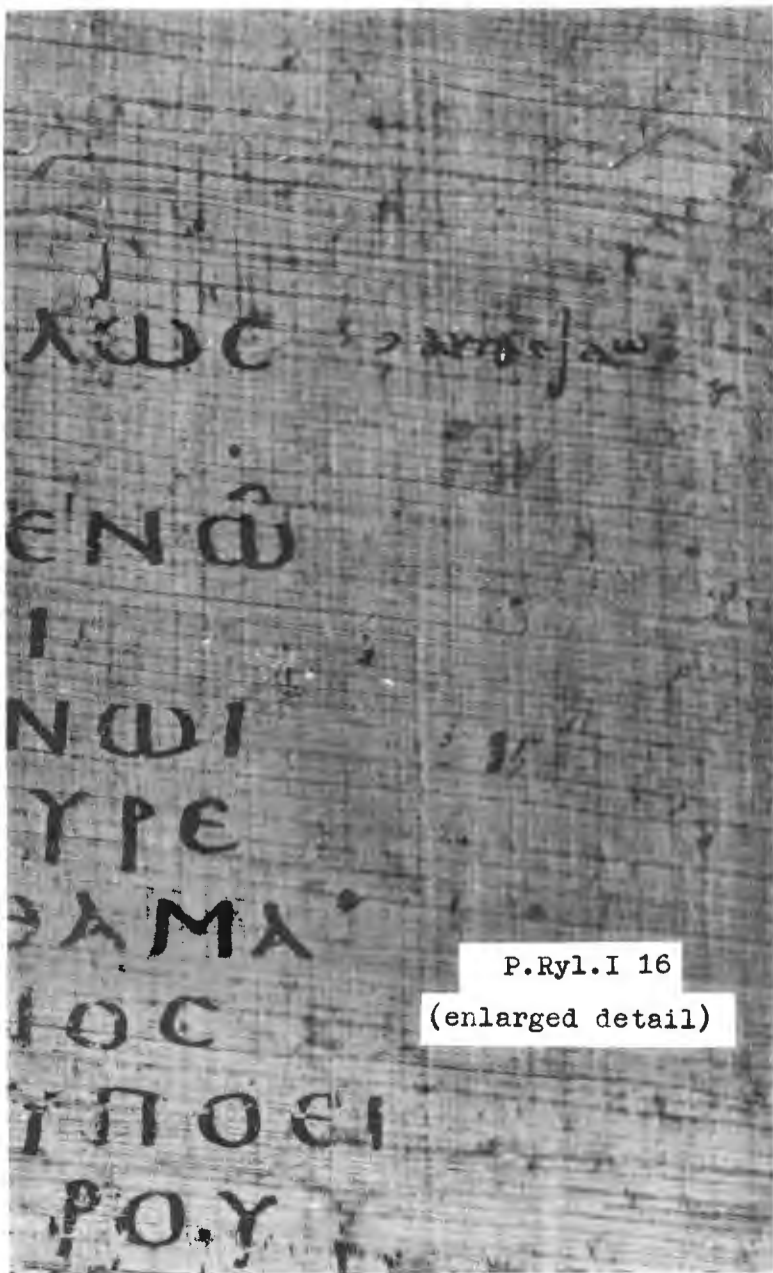


P.Oxy.inv.16 2B.52...., part

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(E.W.Handley, pp.133 ff.)
 P.Oxy.inv.16 2B.52..., frr.A, F, J.



(E.W.Handley, pp.133 ff.)





(R.Seider, pp.277 ff.)

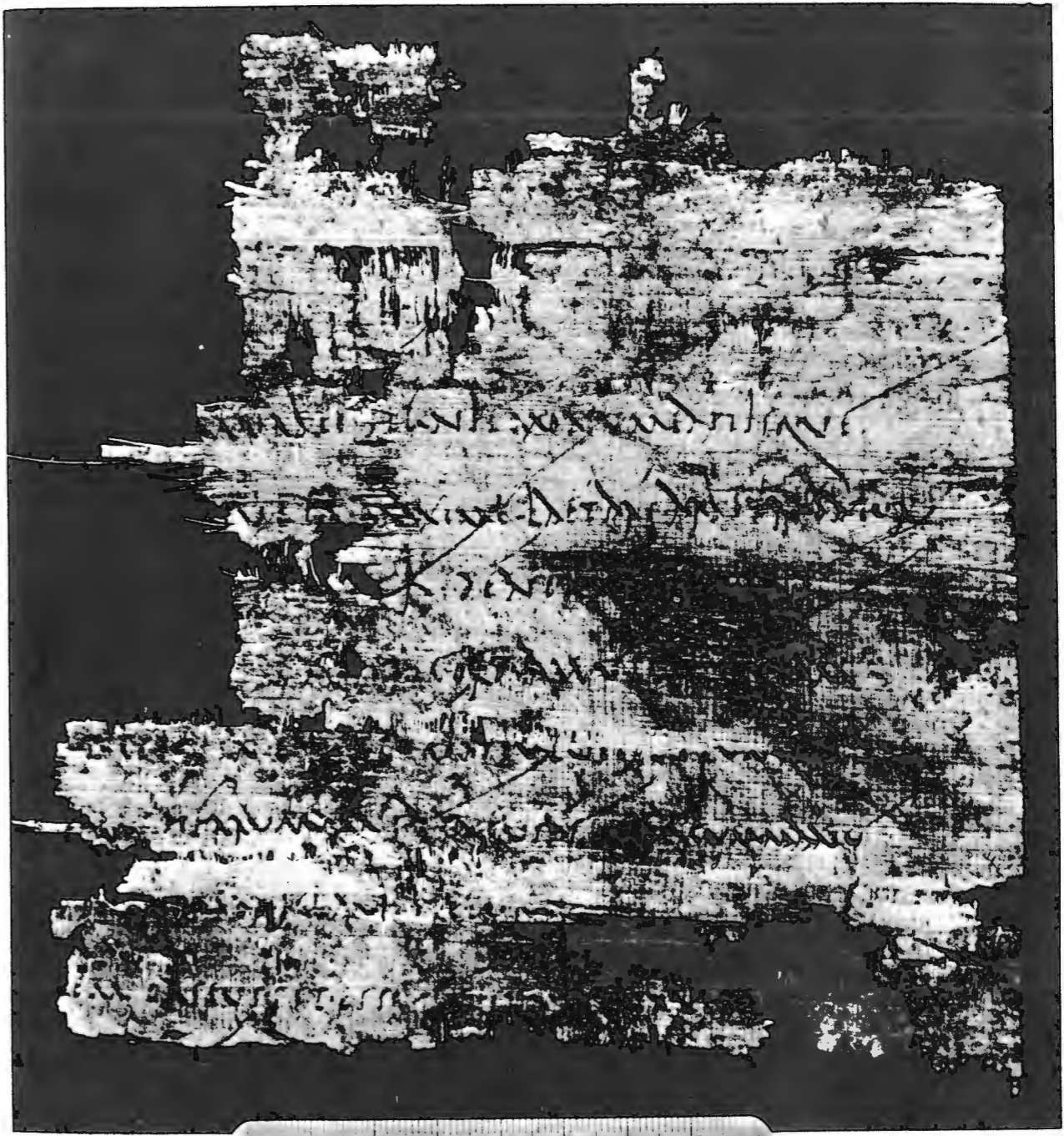
[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text in a cursive script, possibly Hebrew or Arabic, covering the majority of the page. The text is heavily obscured by dark ink smudges and scratches.]



[A few lines of more legible handwritten text at the bottom of the page, including what appears to be a signature or name.]

(R. Seider, pp. 277 ff.)

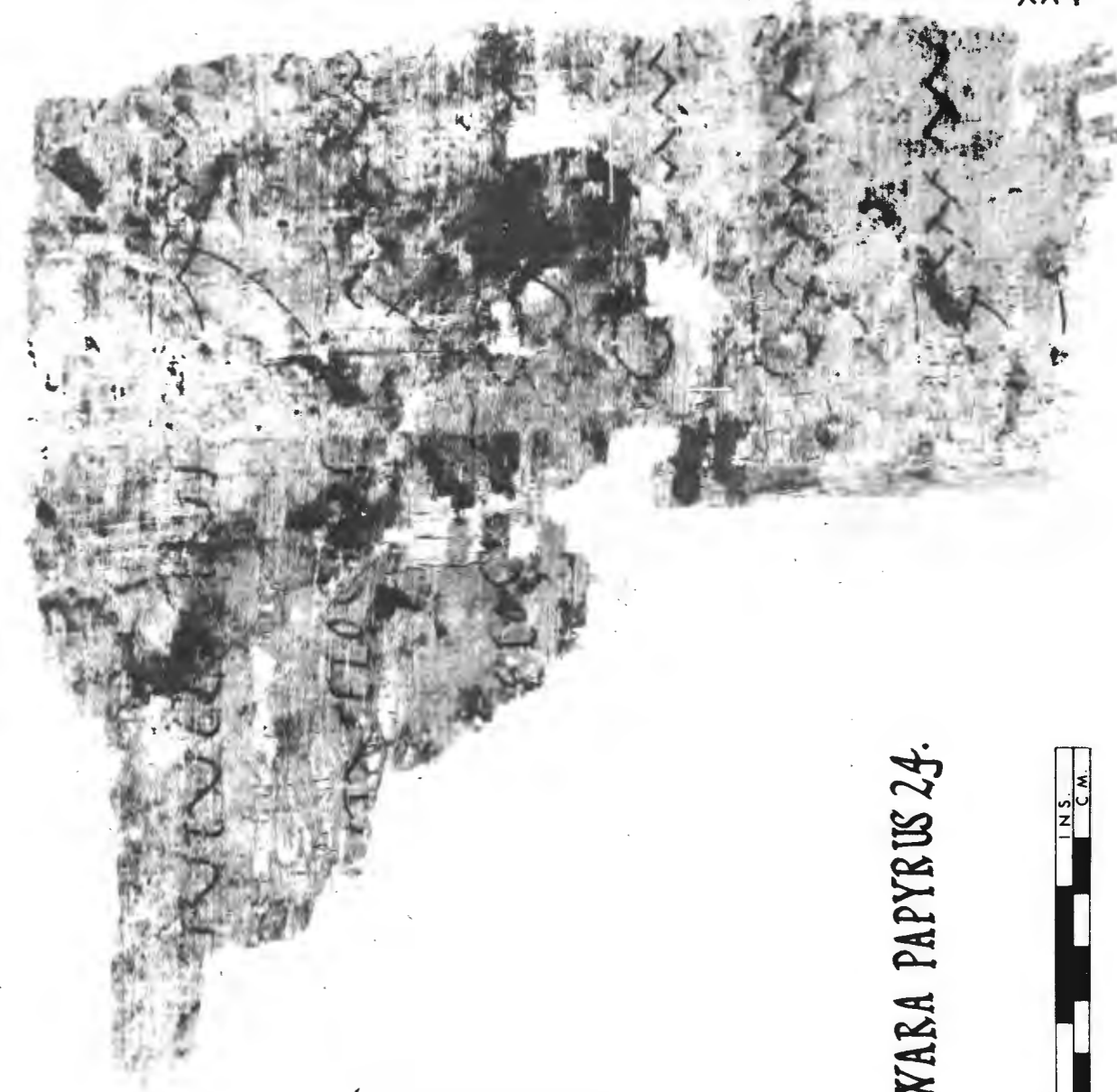




(R. Seider, pp. 277 ff.)

(R. Seider, pp. 277 ff.)

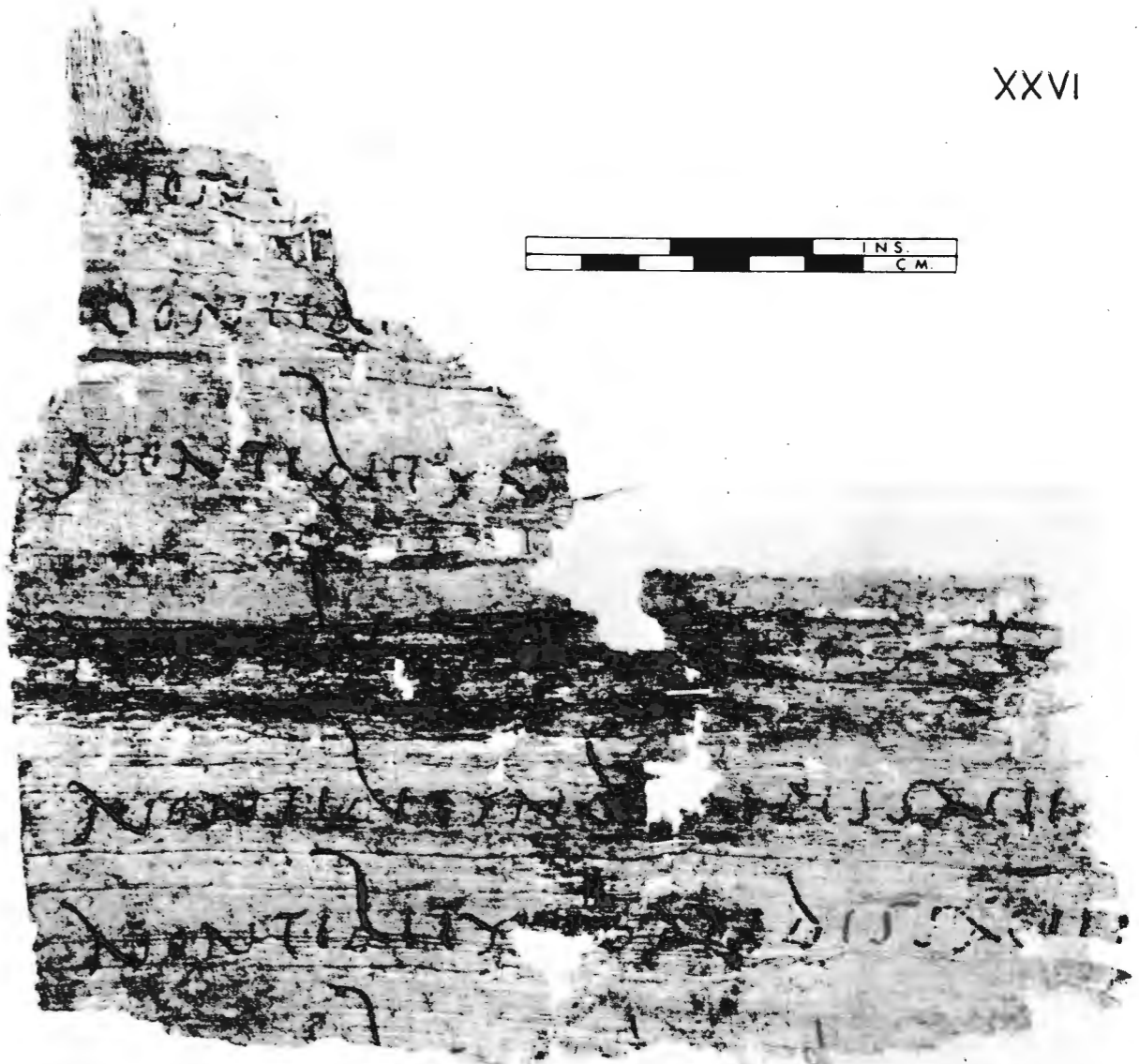




(R.Seider, pp.277 ff.)

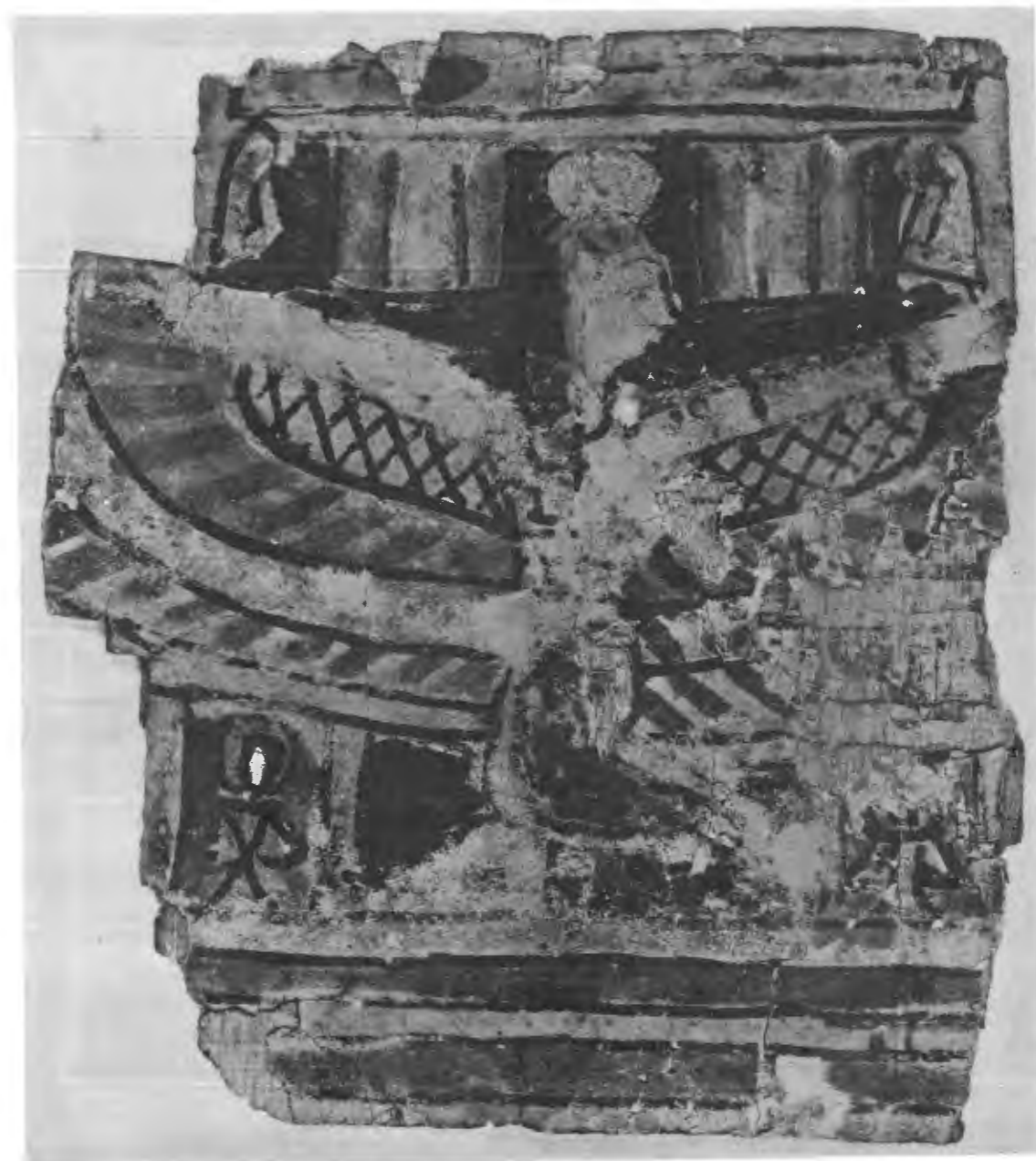
HAWARA PAPIRUS 2f.





(R. Seider, p. 277 ff.)

HAWARA PAPYRUS 24.
 Copy book Latin . Aeneid II. 601.



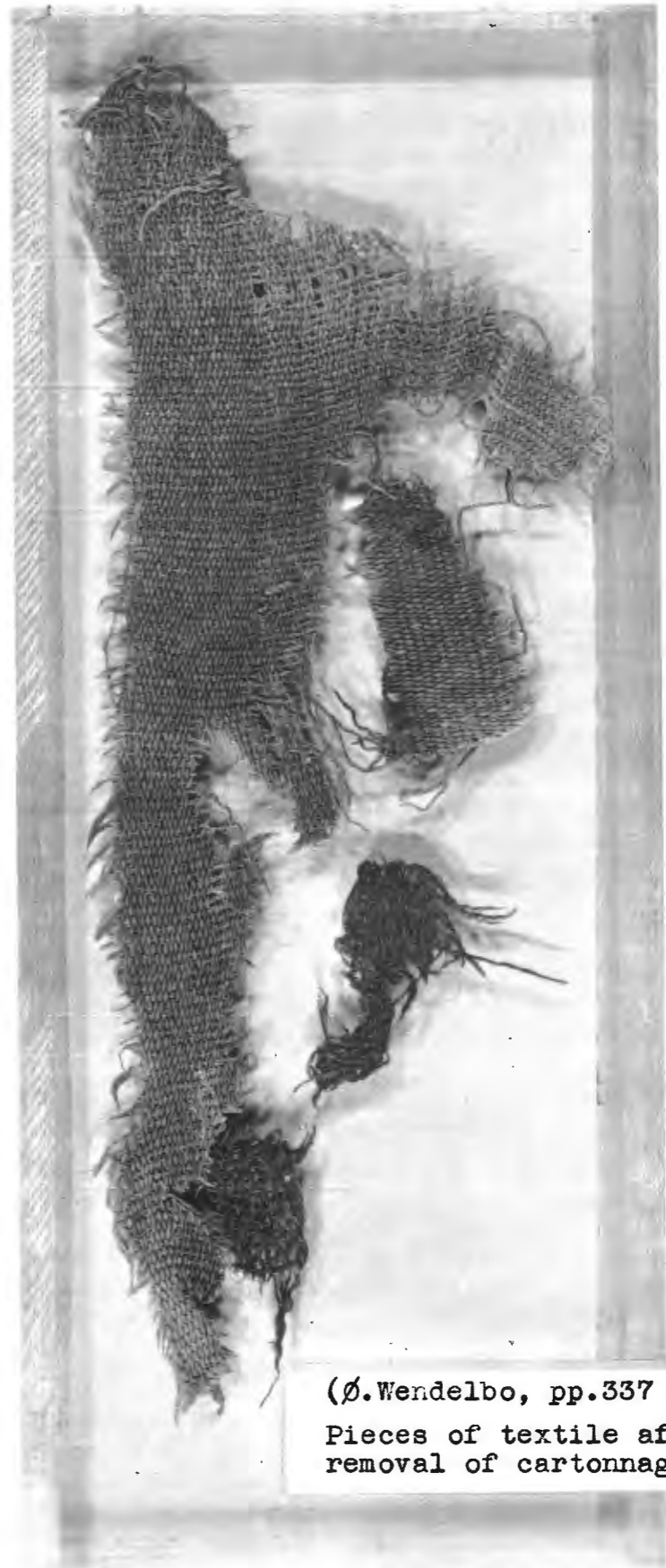
(Ø.Wendelbo, pp.337 ff.)

A papyrus fragment, ca. 12 x 16 cm., about 2100 years old, covered by gesso cartonnage



(Ø.Wendelbo, pp.337 ff.)

The same papyrus as shown in Plate XXVII, after enzymatic removal of the papyrus from the cartonnage (a small piece in the top right corner of the plate removed for test purposes)



(Ø. Wendelbo, pp. 337 ff.)

Pieces of textile after enzymatic
removal of cartonnage



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